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†F. Schiller, Esq.

L. N. Bannerjee, Esq.

Neale Porter, Esq., Oriental Club.

J. Braithwaite Peile, Esq., Bombay
Civil Service.

†Dr. Ananta Chandroba.

Rutanjee Manockjee Bilimoria, Esq.,
Bombay.

Shapoorjee Burjorejee Bharoocha, Esq.,
Bombay.

Dadabhoy Rutanjee Bilmoria, Esq.,
Bombay.

Dulputbhai Bhugoolbhai, Esq., Ahme-
dabad.

Brigadier-Gen. B. R. Powell, Bombay
Army.

Professor T. H. Key, F.R.S.

Alexander Rodyk, Esq.

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L. Mavrogordato, Esq.

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Poona.

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Poona.

Sakaram Balkrishna Pulwardhan, Esq.,
Poona.

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Poona.

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Poona.

Raobahadthur Vizungam Madliar, Esq.,
Poona.

Sirdar Khanderao Vishwanath Rastey,
Poona.

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gur), Calcutta.

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†Nanabhoy Burzoreji, Esq., Rangoon.

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Bombay.

Nowrojee Maneckjee Langrana, Esq.,
Bombay.

Ramdas Bhanjee, Esq., Karanchoe.

Ootumram Khoobchand, Esq., Karan-
choe.

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| Edaljee Cawasjee Mussaney, Esq.,
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| Jugonath Sadasiv, Esq., Bombay. | Dayaraw Jaithmal, Esq. |
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Bombay. | Nusserwanji Jamasjialloola, Esq. |
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RULES
OF
THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION
FOR PROMOTING INDIAN INTERESTS.

1. *Name.* The Association shall be called the "The East India Association," to be supported by Annual Subscriptions and Voluntary Donations.

2. *Objects and Organization.*—The Association shall be for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion by all legitimate means of the interests and welfare of India generally. As an *Institution*, the Association will, so soon as the funds permit, provide a Library and Reading Room, and will always afford Members of Parliament, and the Public generally, information and assistance on all Indian subjects within its power. As a *Body*, it will receive communications, direct or through its Local Committees, on all those questions of local or public interest which there are at present no adequate means of bringing to the notice of the Public or Legislature.

3. The Association shall not take any notice of complaints of individuals against the Governments in India or their Civil and Military Servants, unless a question of public importance be involved therein; nor will it undertake to act in any matters that can be decided by Law Courts, or by Appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

4. *Members.*—The Association shall consist of *Resident* and *Non-Resident* Members. Those residing in the United Kingdom shall be called *Resident*, and all others *Non-Resident* Members.

5. *Annual Meeting*.—There shall be an Annual Meeting of the Association, to be held during the Session of Parliament, Ten Members to form a Quorum at all Meetings at the Association.

6. *President and Vice-Presidents*.—A President and Vice-Presidents of the Association shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, and the number of the latter may be increased at the discretion of the Managing Committee.

7. *Sub-Committees and Local Committees*.—Special Sub-Committees of Members, selected on account of their knowledge of the subjects under reference, of whom Three shall form a quorum, shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting, to take into consideration all matters referred to the Association by the Local Committees and individuals.

8. *The Managing Committee*.—At the Annual Meeting a General Managing Committee shall be appointed, of whom Four shall form a quorum, composed of a Chairman, Six Members, and the Chairman of each of the Special Committees, by whom a Secretary and Treasurer shall be appointed, and the entire affairs of the Association managed.

9. *Local Committees*.—Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the General Managing Committee; and the co-operation of independent Local Associations in India is invited by the "East India Association."

10. *Election*.—After the 1st January, 1867, any person desirous of becoming a Member of the Association shall be proposed and seconded, and after Election by the Managing Committee shall be required to pay an Annual Subscription, in advance, on the 1st of January in each year, of One Sovereign or Ten Rupees. The payment of Ten Sovereigns or One hundred Rupees in lieu of Annual Subscription, shall constitute Life-Membership.

N.B.—An additional Annual Subscription of Five Shillings is charged for the Journal of the Association.

11. The Election of every Member shall be notified to him in writing by the Secretary, who shall transmit to him, at the same time, a copy of the Rules of the Association.

12. Subscriptions unpaid on the 1st May in each year involve cessation of Membership, subject to appeal to the General Managing Committee.

13. *Special Meetings.*—At the desire of Five Members of the General Managing Committee, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special Meeting of the Association.

14. *Bye-Laws.*—The General Managing Committee shall have power to make and alter any bye-laws for the management of the Association.

15. *Alteration of Rules.*—No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Association, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

SUBSCRIPTIONS and DONATIONS can be paid to the LONDON and WESTMINSTER BANK, St. James's Square, London; Messrs. GRINDLAY and Co., 55, Parliament Street, S.W.; Messrs. SMITH, ELDER, and Co., 45, Pall Mall, S.W.; also to Messrs. GRINDLAY, GROOM, & Co., and Mr. ARDESKER FRAMJEE MOOS, Bombay; Messrs. GRINDLAY & Co., and Messrs. D. F. CAMA & Co., Calcutta; and to Messrs. ARBUTHNOT & Co., Madras. Crossed Cheques can be sent to the SECRETARY, by whom formal receipts will be returned. Post Office Orders to be payable at the Parliament Street Post Office.

Gentlemen wishing to become Members of the Association are requested to communicate with the SECRETARY, at the Offices of the Association, 55, Parliament Street, S.W., where a Reading Room is now open for the use of Members.

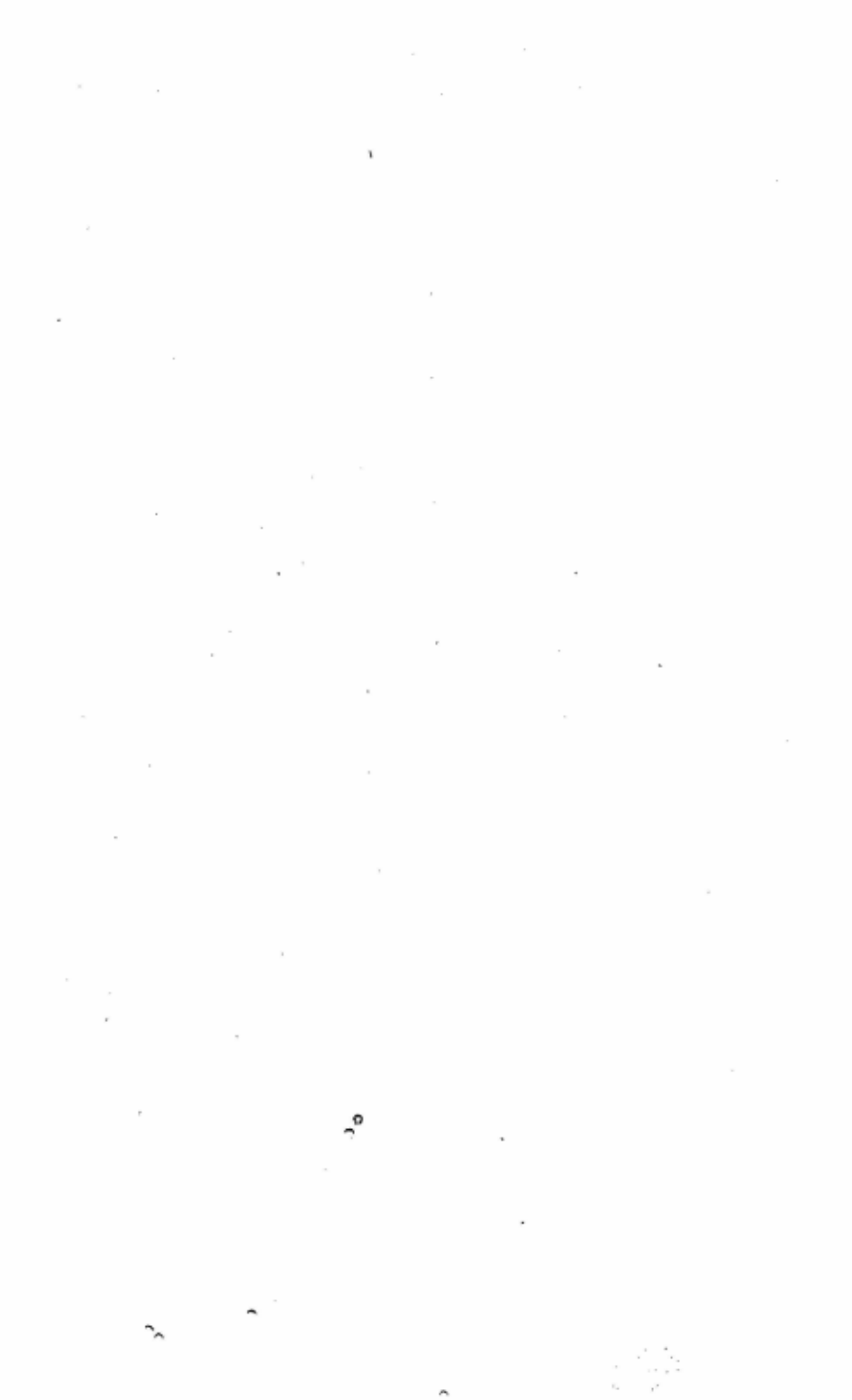
The following BYE-LAWS were passed at a Meeting of the Managing Committee held on Monday, March 16, 1868, and are published for the information of Members.

1. All Papers proposed to be read before the Association shall be submitted to the Managing Committee at least fourteen days prior to the date fixed for their discussion, and all Papers accepted to become the property of the Association.

2. The time allowed for the reading of such Papers shall be limited to forty minutes, and the time allowed to each Member, in any discussion thereon, shall be ten minutes.

3. No second speech on the same subject shall be allowed.

4. The publication, in the Journal of the Association, of all or any portion of the Papers read, and the discussions thereon, shall be vested in the Managing Committee.



EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

EVENING MEETING, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1867,

THE RIGHT HON. LORD LYVEDEN, PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION,
IN THE CHAIR.

CHAIRMAN—Gentlemen, I was very anxious to be present at the first meeting of this Society since the recess, as I was present at the last meeting before the recess. I am very much pleased to find that there are so many good subjects proposed to us for lecturing upon in the present session, and that you have excluded altogether that which I was anxious should be avoided, anything likely to bring on party warfare or personal reflection, which is a consequence of party warfare. I see that there is a notice, which is new to me, for Friday next, relating to the expenses of the Abyssinian War; but I cannot help thinking that that will be a little treading upon ticklish ground, which I do hope will be avoided as much as possible. I mention this because even upon that subject I shall not be able to occupy the chair, and this evening only for a very short time, as I feel very deeply interested in, and wish to be present at, a debate in the House of Commons. I am afraid that if we embark in such intricate matters we shall injure the Society very much indeed. However, I think with regard to this evening, a subject has been selected as to which there can be no party warfare, viz. The Hindú Marriage Law. I for one consider it a very intricate, but at the same time a very interesting subject. I shall therefore call upon my honourable friend, Mr. Bonnerjee, to read the Paper he has prepared on this subject.

REFORM OF THE HINDÚ MARRIAGE LAWS.

WHEN India gradually fell into the hands of her present rulers, it was found that the people had an infinitude of varieties in their religion, caste, and customs—some very important, others comparatively insignificant. There were, however, two main religions which, paradoxical though it may appear, both caused and merged most of these varieties, and drew

the line of demarcation between the two principal races which were then, and are now, to be found in the country—the Hindú and the Mahomedan.¹ These religions were Hindúism and Mahommedanism, and they offered the basis of good government for the country in the hands of skilful statesmen. The opportunity was not lost. In course of time, when it became necessary for the rulers to legislate for the government of the country, great difficulties were experienced in the task. A code of laws which would regulate the conduct of both Hindús and Mahommedans it was found impossible to devise; and they hit upon the wisest course before them. Unlike their conduct in a neighbouring island, they did not force the people to become converts to their religion; they did not make religion a crime, or use its sacred name as a pretext for spoliation of property. Unlike also their predecessors, who had made “the laws of Mahommed the standard of judgment for the Hindús,” they did not make the laws of England “the standard of judgment” for either Hindús or Mahommedans. They recognised, in practice if not in theory, the belief of the Hindús that God has “appointed to each tribe its own faith, and to every sect its own religion.”² They allowed both Hindús and Mahommedans to be governed by their own laws; and, with the exception of a few beneficial reforms, to be hereafter noticed, this wise policy has continued up to, and prevails at, the present day. As early as 1772, when the plan proposed by Governor-General Warren Hastings for the administration of justice in India was adopted, their own laws were expressly reserved to the natives, and it was provided that “Maulavis and Pandits should attend the courts to expound the law and assist in passing the decree.” “These general reservations,” says Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson,³ “were more

¹ I do not speak here of the Parsees, for various reasons. In the first place, they were concentrated in one part of India only—and that part, though now it is difficult to identify it with the present flourishing Presidency of Bombay, chiefly made so by the energy and pluck of the Parsees themselves, was then an insignificant one—and were not scattered, like the Hindús and Mahommedans, all over the country. Secondly, Bombay having come into the possession of the English by way of a gift from Spain, remained under the direct control of the Crown for some time, and was, while so under the Crown, in no way affected by the rule of government introduced by the East India Company. And thirdly, when Bombay was handed over to the Company, they made special arrangements for its government. These arrangements lasted a long while, and it was not until after their disappearance that it was assimilated to the government of India as established in other parts of the country.

² Halhed's *Code of Gentoo Laws*. London: 1776, p. 4.

³ Macnaghten's *Hindú and Mahommedan Law*, by H. H. Wilson. London: 2d Edition, 1862, p. 10.

precisely defined by the regulation statute as finally modified in 1780, when it was enacted that, in all suits regarding inheritances, succession, marriage, caste, and other religious usages or institutions, the laws of the Koran with respect to Mahomedans, and those of the Shastres with respect to Gentoos, should be invariably adhered to.' The same provisions accompanied the establishment of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and the Statute enacted that 'in all disputes between the native inhabitants of Calcutta, their inheritance and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party, shall be determined, in the case of Mahomedans, by the laws and usages of Mahomedans, and in the case of Gentoos, by the laws and usages of Gentoos.' The same clause was introduced into the statutes by which the Supreme Courts of Madras and Bombay were instituted. The Regulations of the Indian Government were guided by the same principle, and Regulation 4 of 1793 prescribes 'that in suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage, and caste, and all religious usages and institutions, the Mahomedan laws with respect to Mahomedans, and the Hindú laws with regard to Hindús, shall be considered as the general rules by which the Judges are to form their decisions.' This Regulation was subsequently extended to the Upper Provinces: it had been previously enacted at Madras; at Bombay, Regulation 4 of 1797 was, if possible, more comprehensive, securing to Hindú and Mahomedan defendants in civil suits the benefit of their own laws regarding 'succession to, and inheritance of, landed and other property, mortgages, loans, bonds, securities, hire, wages, marriage and caste, and every other claim to personal or real right and property so far as shall depend upon the point of law.' It will be thus seen that throughout the length and breadth of India—so far, that is to say, as the rule of the English extends in the country—the religion, manners, and customs of the people have been recognised, and the law has respected and upheld them. Not even the politicians under the Dalhousie régime—with all their notions of anglicising India, and everything Indian, and making her a lesser England devoid of all her own characteristic qualities, and only possessing a feeble imitation of English institutions unsupported by the energy, the climate, the peculiar position which make England what she is—could venture to improve this policy away. Laws have been made and repealed, re-enacted and done away with again; but this fundamental principle of English legislation in India still exists. Old courts have given way to

new courts, recorders and mayors to judges and magistrates, but no law was ever thought of which would directly or indirectly interfere with the working of this principle. And the same provision for the maintenance of Hindú law in the case of the Hindús, and Mahommedan law in the case of the Mahommedans, is upheld in the charter constituting the Indian High Courts.¹

At the time the English first legislated for the country, both Mahommedanism and Hindúism presented an organised front to any assaults from without, and had entire agreement in their ranks. Superstition still reigned triumphant; there was not the slightest vestige of the spirit of scepticism in the country; and the disagreements and schisms which are the natural and inevitable result of inquiry, had not appeared. Hindúism, in particular, had been undergoing a series of the most virulent and bitter persecution for years. The despised religion of a conquered and despised people, it found no respect from the Mahommedan rulers of India. It was insulted both openly and in disguise; its ministers were treated with great hardship and injustice; and, although it was made no barrier to the holding of any public office, particularly in the reign of Akbár, it brought no end of trouble to its votaries. The natural consequence of all this persecution was that the Hindús became more and more attached to their religion, and in their incessant endeavours for its preservation found no time to examine it with any degree of criticism. In fact, they did not examine it at all, and blindly followed and faithfully adhered to, and believed in, the doctrines to be found in their religious books, and taught to them by the Brahmans. Such being the case, it was not difficult to define a Hindú. He was at once known as one who followed the religion of the Hindús, such religion being derived from the books as interpreted by the Bráhmans. When, therefore, the law declared that the laws of the Hindús should govern the Hindús in matters of caste, succession, &c. there was no difficulty in applying the law, and there arose no necessity for an interpretation clause defining a

¹ See Articles 18 and 19, whereby it is ordained that the law or equity of the Supreme Courts shall be the law or equity of the High Courts in their ordinary original civil jurisdiction. In the exercise of their extraordinary original civil jurisdiction, the High Courts are to be guided by the law or equity, and rule of good conscience, which would have been applied to the cases falling within such jurisdiction by any local court having jurisdiction therein. I have followed the Charter for the Bengal High Court. The Charters for the other High Courts are, I believe, exactly the same in their articles and language.

Hindú. But now that the whole society of the Hindús has been shattered to pieces—when faith has given way to doubts, unity to schism, belief in the infallibility of the Bráhmans to considering them ignorant and meddlesome impostors, the task of saying who is, and who is not, a Hindú, has become very difficult, if not impossible.

There has been growing up in Bengal, and I may safely say all over India, a sect of religionists who call themselves *Bráhmós*. They number in their ranks all—at least, a great portion—of the young men of the country, and, I believe, are destined to act a most conspicuous and, if I am not mistaken, a most beneficial part in the formation of the future religion of the country, and in its civilization and well-being. They have extracted from the *Védás* of the ancient Hindús such tenets as uphold the belief in a one living and true God, rejecting all that in any way savour of polytheism, idolatry, and all the other articles of faith of the great majority of their countrymen who are not Mahommedans, Christians, Parsees, or Jews. They rigorously follow their doctrines, and so impatient are they to break away from the customs prevalent amongst those in the country who are neither Mahommedans, Christians, Parsees, nor Jews, that they have done away with the old ceremonies of marriage, and invented new ones in their stead. Several marriages have lately taken place under the regulations of this religion, and according to these new ceremonies, performed by the priests of the order. These marriages have been followed by issue, or are likely to be so in the majority of the cases, and as the question of inheritance and legal status is involved in them, it may not be without interest for this Association—anxious, as I am sure it is, to promote the general good of India—to inquire whether or not these marriages are within the pale and cognisance of any law of the country, and whether or not they could be considered valid in the sense of making their issue legitimate and entitled to the rights of inheritance in cases of intestacy.

In the observations I shall deem it my duty to offer towards the solution of this momentous problem, I must not be understood to say one word against these marriages, or their authors and abettors. Though not a Bráhmo myself, I trust I am not imbued with the spirit of persecution with which such of my countrymen as are not of the sect almost invariably regard it. These forget for a time their own differences, or at least, with a common ground to act upon, they assail the new-born religion with great energy. To stamp out the new sect, they have all

united, and are doing their utmost. Fortunately for religious equality and free religious inquiry, they have not succeeded in their task, and I sincerely hope they never will. My concern with the Bráhmós in this paper is merely from a legal point of view. I take their existence in the country as I find it. I admire their zeal, their patriotism, the purity of the lives of their leaders and men, and I respect their beliefs, though I may not agree with them. Giving them full liberty to invent ceremonies for themselves, and follow and practise them to their heart's content, I want to know whether these ceremonies would be recognised by any existing law of the country, when questions involving property would be mixed up with them; and whether it is desirable that the ceremonies should be discarded, or the law so amended as to extend its protecting influence over them. Nor must I be taken to impugn the marriages, if the conclusion we arrive at be against their legal validity, from a moral point of view. There are many acts which are morally right, but which the law does not recognise. The legal invalidity of marriages in England with a deceased wife's sister is a notorious example. The marriages of the Bráhmós may be valid morally, and the issue entitled to their right of inheritance, but if the law says that the marriages ought to have taken place under such and such a system or with such and such a ceremony, no amount of pure-mindedness and fervent religious zeal would make them valid if they contravened the law. Furthermore, the questions I have raised must not, or rather cannot, be considered as between the parties themselves whilst the father is still alive; I mean, that so far as the maintenance of the wife and her children is concerned, the law may possibly compel the husband to provide for them suitably to his condition in life. It is in their relationship to the world, especially after the death of the father, that the questions become important.

The validity or invalidity of these marriages depends upon the fact of their being Hindú, Mahommedan, Christian, Jew, or Parsee marriages. These are the only prominent sects of religionists in India, and there are laws peculiar to each of them. "The Mofussil courts," indeed, "are courts of conscience, and they determine questions respecting the law of foreigners; that is, not Hindú or Mahommedan, but British subjects. Thus in *Durand v. Boilard*¹ the succession was governed by French law. *Joanna Fernandez v. Domingo de Silva*² was a case of

¹ Beng. Sudder Dewany Rep. v. 176.

² Ibid. ii. 227.

Portuguese law, and the cases of *Avielick Fer Stafanoos v. Khaja Michael Arratoon*,¹ *Humrus v. Humrus*,² *Aratoon v. Aratoon*,³ *Gregory v. Cochrane*,⁴ related to Armenian Christians.”⁵ But all these cases were founded upon the broad equity, that a foreigner who is not domiciled in a country should be governed by the laws of his own country or tribe, as regards his testamentary or intestate succession. This principle cannot apply to the Bráhmós. They are not foreigners in India domiciled in any other part of the globe—and therefore do not come under the ruling in these cases. Now it may be safely asserted that these marriages cannot possibly be considered either Christian, Mahommedan, Jew, or Parsee marriages. The Bráhmós do not belong to any of these religions, and I fancy they will be the first to repudiate all connexion with them. Besides, supposing for the sake of argument that they may be brought under any of these heads, the marriages not having taken place according to the forms laid down by the laws of these sects, they would be utterly null and void for all purposes of legal legitimacy. The only sect that remains is the Hindú; and we have to consider, first, whether the Brahmos are Hindús, and second, whether, even if they are Hindús, the marriages have taken place under the forms and according to the tenets of the Hindú religion. The consideration of the second question will be materially affected by that of the first, which is nothing more nor less than this comprehensive inquiry: who is a Hindú?

I have mentioned before that the regulations and Acts which reserved the Hindú law for the Hindús, and the Mahommedan law for the Mahommedans, do not say who is to be considered a Hindú, and who a Mahommedan. Subsequent Acts are equally silent on the subject. Indeed, it would seem as if our legislators had savoured of the difficulty of a correct interpretation, and had selfishly left the judges to determine it. I have met with no law which declares that such and such a person is a Hindú or Mahommedan. The only attempt at the sort of interpretation clause I am speaking of that was ever made by the Indian legislature, from its birth up to the present time, was in the draft “bill to define and amend the law relating to marriage and divorce among the Parsees,” introduced by Mr. Anderson into the Governor-General’s

¹ Beng. Sudder Dewany Rep. iii. 9.

² Borr. Bombay Rep. ii. 496.

³ Beng. Sud. Dew. Rep. vii. 52.

⁴ Moore’s Ind. Appeal Cases, viii. 275.

⁵ Abraham v. Abraham, Moore’s Ind. Appeal Cases, ix. 224.

Council for making laws and regulations. In paragraph 2 of that draft bill, it was proposed to enact that “ ‘Parsee’ means or applies to a person professing the religion of Zoroaster, and domiciled in British India ;” but look at the Act¹ as it has come out of the legislative oven, and you will find no trace of this extract of the interpretation clause, and you would be just as wise as to who a Parsee is after your perusal of the Act as you were before ; that is to say, you may consider him a fire-eater, a fire-worshipper, or a sun-worshipper, or anything else you like, without offending the law. The statute law being silent, we have “Judge-made law” to resort to for the purpose of continuing our search after a Hindú. And here, although several decisions have been pronounced, both by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the Courts in India, the circumstances of the cases giving rise to the decisions were so different from those that would arise if a Bráhmó marriage were contested in a Court of Justice, that I am not sure whether they could be relied upon as precedents. In the case of *Myna Boyes v. Ootaram*,² George Arthur Hughes, “an Englishman, had five children by two native Hindú women, one of whom was of the Bráhmán caste, a married woman, though living apart from her husband. The five children were brought up as Hindús, and lived together as a joint family. Hughes, by his will, devised an estate to the five illegitimate children, in equal shares ; and it was held by the Privy Council that the illegitimate children were to be considered as Hindús, and their rights governed by that law.”³ It will be remarked that in this case the question did not relate to any other property but what was devised to the illegitimate children by their father, and that it entirely turned upon whether they were to be looked upon as a joint Hindú family. Even with reference to this point, the Privy Council holds that, “Being children of a Christian father, by different Hindú mothers, although constituting themselves co-parceners in the enjoyment of the property, after the manner of a joint Hindú family, yet that the partnership so constituted differed from the co-partnership of a joint Hindú family, as defined by the Hindú law ; and that, at the death of each son, his lineal heirs, representing their parent, would be entitled to enter into that partnership.” So that this case leaves us exactly where we were before. The most important decision on the subject is that on the late case of *Abraham*

¹ Act 15 of 1865.² Moore's Ind. Appeal Cases, viii. 400.³ Ibid.

v. *Abraham*,¹ before the Privy Council ; and their lordships there held that the regulations and acts, "So far as they prescribe that the Hindú law shall be applied to Hindús, and the Mahommedan law to Mahommedans, they must be understood to refer to Hindús and Mahommedans, not by birth merely, *but by religion also.*" The purport of this decision is, then, that only *bonâ fide* Hindús are governed by the Hindú law—such as are Hindús by religion. Are the Bráhmós Hindús by religion ? It is clear that if they are not, they are without the pale of the Hindú law. As regards their social life, with the exception of the new ceremonies of marriage that they have invented, the Bráhmós are not in any way different from the rest of their countrymen who are neither Christians, Mahommedans, Jews, nor Parsees. They live in the same style, eat in the same style, dwell together—father, son, grandson, mother, daughter, and daughter-in-law, *et hoc genus omne*—in the same way. They burn their dead in the same way, but whether according to the same ceremonies I do not know, nor do I know whether they perform the usual funeral obsequies. In short, they may be said to be like their orthodox Hindú countrymen in every particular, except in their articles of creed and belief. I am not aware that they have been formally excommunicated, but the presumption seems to be against their excommunication, for they freely mix with the orthodox Hindús. From these facts it is argued by some that the Bráhmós must be looked upon as Hindús, and that the line separating a person born of Hindú parents, not holding the orthodox faith, from another holding such faith, must be excommunication. There may be force in this argument, but to me it appears very fallacious, especially if we couple it with the dictum of the Privy Council in *Abraham v. Abraham* before referred to. The argument applied to Europe would sound most funny. An Irish Roman Catholic becomes a Protestant. He does not thereby lose his nationality, nor, if his relatives are not bigots, does he cease to reside, or live on friendly terms with them. Surely the fact of his kindly intercourse with his former co-religionists would not make him one of their religion. In the same way a converted Jew. Well, though he is excluded from the Synagogue, he does not cut off all communications with his Jewish friends ; and it would not be right to call him a Jew by religion. In all these cases, and I submit in the case of the Bráhmós, it is the religion, and

¹ Moore's Ind. Appeal Cases, ix. 195. I shall have occasion to refer to this case hereafter.

not the excommunication, which must be the mark of demarcation. Now, a religion is very difficult to define. Even the definition given of it by Mr. Stuart Mill in his *critique* on "Auguste Comte, and Positivism" is not very clear, and however valuable it may be in the abstract, it cannot be said to apply to any established religion. Persons who do not believe in the Trinity, under the Christian dispensation, call themselves Christians; and in the same way the Bráhmós, though they reject the cardinal points of the Hindú faith, may call themselves Hindús by religion. How far their calling themselves Hindús will avail them in the eye of the law is another matter.

I am sorry I have not got an authorized copy of their faith to state without fear of misrepresentation what it is, but it is beyond the possibility of a doubt that they do not believe in the Hindú Triad, in the divine mission of the Bráhmans, and in the distinction of caste generally. They do not worship the Spirit of God as it is imported into the Hindú idols by the Bráhmans; in short, in all the cardinal beliefs of Hindúism, with the exception of the belief in "a one living and true God," they are at variance with the rest of the Hindús.

It may be urged that the Bráhmós have derived their religion from the religious books of the Hindús, and not from traditional Hindúism; that they have adopted the beliefs which are supposed to have been in vogue in India thousands and thousands of years ago; and that they are real Hindús purified from the superstition that has cloven itself round the religion. How far this argument is true, I am not in a position to say. But supposing it is well founded, it can have but little effect in a Court of Justice. There is such a thing as the established religion of a nation, and Hindúism, as it is practised by the great majority of the Hindús, though it may be superstitious, must be taken to be their established religion. The beliefs of the Bráhmós clash against all the standard beliefs of the Hindú religion, as it is *practised*, and they cannot be considered as part and parcel of it. It will be in the recollection of most members, that previous to the passing of the Act 15 of 1856, the Hindú widows used to be doomed to a life of perpetual widowhood. An agitation began, and it was then urged that the re-marriage of Hindú widows was sanctioned by the religion of the Hindús. Able pamphlets were written on the subject, and by none so cleverly as by the father of the agitation, and though through the constitution of the Council not the father of the Act, at least its great promoter—

Pandit Éswra Chandra Vydaságara. The religious books which authorized such re-marriages were freely quoted, and the arguments from these books were so overwhelming, that no doubt was left in the minds of the intelligent Hindús that the re-marriage of the widows was not more equitable than it was in strict accordance with Hindú morality and the Hindú religion. But this conviction went for nothing. The majority of the people were against the re-marriage, and in support of their position they appealed not alone to the religious books which bore out their views, but to the *established usage of the country* also, and this last appeal prevailed. The consequence was that the Act I have referred to had to be passed. It legalizes re-marriage of Hindú widows, and in its preamble shows that an enlightened opinion must be legalized before it can operate against the received religion of the Hindús. Here is the preamble:—

“Whereas, it is known that by the law, as administered in the Civil Courts established in the territories in the possession and under the government of the East India Company, Hindú widows, with certain exceptions, are held to be by reason of their having once married incapable of contracting a second valid marriage, and the offspring of such widows by any second marriage are held to be illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting property; and *whereas, many Hindús believe that this imputed legal incapacity, although it is in accordance with established custom, is not in accordance with a true interpretation of the precepts of their religion, and desire that the Courts of India shall no longer prevent those Hindús who may be so minded from adopting a different custom, in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience; and whereas, it is just to relieve all Hindús from this legal incapacity, of which they complain;*”¹ and that the removal of all legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindú widows will tend to the promotion of good morals and the public welfare, the Act goes on to enact, that Hindú widow marriages should be considered legal. The analogy I should draw from this preamble is that, however valid the position of the Bráhmós may be as far as the *written* religion is concerned, their tenets and practices being against and in direct contravention of the religion as it is practised by the Hindús, they cannot be considered Hindús by religion, so as to be protected in their matrimonial and testamentary and intestate affairs by the Hindú law. Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that the Bráhmós are Hindús by religion as well as by birth, the question

¹ The italics are mine.

arises, will it be competent for the Hindú law to recognise the new ceremonies of marriage that they have adopted? How it is possible for the Hindú law, when it definitely lays down certain ceremonies to be performed in order to make marriages valid, to recognise them when the ceremonies are not performed, I cannot make out. The Courts have been very lenient in upholding marriages, but they would find it very difficult to show any leniency in this case, as they must be governed by Hindú law, which these marriages have disregarded.

The case of *Catterall v. Catterall*,¹ decided by Dr. Lushington, is not unimportant to the consideration of the subject before us. In that case, it was held that where a statute of New South Wales directed that no marriage should be solemnized without certain formalities, but did not in express terms render null and void marriages solemnized without such formalities, a marriage solemnized in contravention of the Act was not invalid. In his judgment, Dr. Lushington says:—"This being a question of nullity of marriage, and consequently having, or possibly having, the effect of bastardising issue, and the marriage *de facto* being admitted, the presumption of law is in favour of its validity."² This is no doubt the spirit of English law, but in the case of the Bráhmós it is hardly applicable. Thus, the Hindú law does not clearly apply to these religionists, nor, as before mentioned, do the laws of the Christians, Mahommedans, Jews, or Parsees, serve them any better.

We have seen that if the Bráhmós can show any foreign nationality, and then that any foreign law legalizes their marriage, in the Mofussil Courts at least they will find protection. But they have no foreign nationality, nor does any foreign law apply to them. In the case of *Abraham v. Abraham*, before mentioned, it was necessary for the appellants to show that a *lex loci* existed in India, and that having become Christians they should be governed by English law. Sir Roundell Palmer, Q.C., arguing for them, says (Moore, ix. 220):—"The doctrine that there is no *lex loci* in India, is capable of a *reductio ad absurdum*. Persons who have ceased to be Hindús, have a law or they have not. If they have not, no Court of Justice can adjudicate. If they have a law, it must be either the *lex loci* or the law of usage. But the law of

¹ Robertson's Ecclesiastical Reports, i. 309.

² In connexion with this case, the case of *Queen v. George Millis* (Clark and Finnelly, x. 534) should be considered.

usage implies a continuance, and must have had a beginning ; therefore, if there is no class similar to themselves, there can be no law of usage, and if there be a class, that class must for some time have been without a law." In this case, it was held that there was a *lex loci*, but that was the English law, which, as I have said before, is not applicable to the Bráhmós ; and we are therefore left to the other alternative, the law of usage. "There is no class similar to the Brahmos," and therefore, in Sir Roundell Palmer's words, "there can be no law of usage." They have thus neither a *lex loci* nor a law of usage, and must be beyond the pale of all Courts of Justice in matters of succession. As for the Hindú law, if the Bráhmós are not Hindús, as I think they are not, then Sir Roundell very justly argues in the case before the Privy Council, "the Hindú law of inheritance cannot apply to them, *for such law is part and parcel of the Hindú religion, and cannot be separated from it.*"¹

It may be said that if the Bráhmós are not Hindús they come within the meaning of the 331st Section of the Indian Testamentary and Intestate Act (Act 10 of 1865), and that that Act applies to them. This argument may be well founded, but the Act has nothing to do with the validity or invalidity of marriages.

But there are other, and if not graver, at least equally important complications in the Indian marriage laws. The most prominent ones are those which arise when a Hindú becomes a Christian and renounces his old faith and his old associations. Almost every Hindú who is converted to Christianity is at the time of his conversion a married man, sometimes the father of a family. And this can hardly be otherwise, as they marry very early in India, and according to an eminent judge of the High Court of Calcutta the father of a would-be convert may detain him forcibly at home till he is sixteen years of age, at which age legal infancy of a young man ceases to operate. There are hardly twenty young men in a hundred, putting the number as high as possible, at the age of sixteen, who are not married men ; and Christianity is held in such dread in India, that if an unmarried young man shows leanings in favour of that religion his relatives hasten to bring about his marriage, in the hope that the joys of this world, as contributed by matrimony, would cool the ardour of the young enthusiast for his salvation in the world to come. Now when a person becomes a convert to Christianity from

¹ Moore, ix. 221. The italics are mine.

Hinduism he becomes an outcast from his family. The Privy Council clearly defines his position in *Abraham v. Abraham* :—

“What is the position of a member of a Hindú family who has become a convert to Christianity? He becomes, as their lordships apprehend, at once severed from the family, and regarded by them as an outcast. The tie which bound the family together is, so far as he is concerned, not only loosened, but dissolved. The obligations consequent upon and connected with the tie must, as it seems to their lordships, be dissolved with it. Their lordships, therefore, are of opinion, that upon the conversion of a Hindú to Christianity the Hindú law ceases to have any continuing obligatory force upon the convert. He may renounce the old law by which he was bound, as he has renounced his old religion, or, if he thinks fit, he may abide by the old law, notwithstanding he has renounced the old religion.

“The profession of Christianity releases the convert from the trammels of the Hindú law, but it does not of necessity involve any change of the rights or relations of the convert in matters with which Christianity has no concern, such as his rights and interests in, and his powers over property. The convert, though not bound as to such matters, either by the Hindú law or by any other positive law, may, by his course of conduct after his conversion, have shown by what law he intended to be governed as to these matters. He may have done so either by attaching himself to a class which as to these matters has adopted and acted upon some particular law, or by having himself observed some family usage or custom; and nothing can surely be more just than that the rights and interests in his property, and his powers over it, should be governed by the law which he has adopted, or the rules which he has observed.”

Excommunication from caste according to Hindú law, is thus described by Sir Thomas Strange in his valuable work on Hindú law :¹—

“Accompanied with certain ceremonies its effect is to exclude him (the outcast) from all social intercourse, to suspend in him every civil function, to disqualify him from all the offices and all the charities of life; he is to be deserted by his connexions, who are from the moment of the sentence attaching upon him to desist from speaking to him, from sitting in his company, from delivering to him any inherited or other property, and from every civil or usual attention, as inviting him on the

¹ Strange's Hindú Law (4th edit. Madras, 1864), p. 160.

first day of the year, or the like.¹ So that a man under these circumstances," continues Sir Thomas Strange, "might as well be dead; which, indeed, Hindú law considers him to be, directing oblations to be offered to *Manes*, as though he were naturally so." And he quotes some passages from Manu in favour of his views.² It was found that this exclusion from caste operated very harshly in matters of inheritance, and by Act 21 of 1850, commonly called the *Lex Loci* Act, it was declared that "so much of any law or usage now in force, within the territories subject to the East India Company, as inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held any way to impair or affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing or having been excluded from the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced in the Courts of the East India Company, and in the Courts established by Royal Charter within the said territories." It will be noticed that this Act does not make any mention of the question of marriage. It only enacts that a person, whatever his religion or position may be, should not be held to be excluded from inheritance. Marriage is left alone, and the question arises, what becomes of the marriage of a Hindú when he becomes a convert to Christianity? There have been hundreds and hundreds of cases of such conversion, but I do not remember having ever met with any decision on the subject. Either the wives have become converts too, or the husbands have led a life of celibacy in the majority of instances. This state of things might have gone on, and the question left unsettled without public attention being drawn to it, had it not been for the passing of the Act 21 of 1866, commonly called the Native Converts Re-marriage Act. This Act empowers Courts of Justice to grant divorces to converted husbands or wives if, within a certain time appointed by the Act, and after certain preliminaries, not necessary to be mentioned here, have been gone through, their wives or husbands do not join and live with them. It does not say that notwithstanding the conversion of a Hindú his or her marriage should remain as valid and binding upon him or her as before. It abruptly begins by interpreting the words 'Native Husband,' frequently used in the Act, as "a married man domiciled in British India, who shall have completed his sixteenth year, and shall not be a Christian, Mahomedan,

¹ This custom obtains more in Madras than in any other part of India.

² See Haughton's edition of Sir William Jones's translation of Manu's *Manava Dharma Sastra* (London, 1825), chap. xi. sections 183 and 184.

or Jew ;" and the words ' native wife ' as " a married woman domiciled in British India who shall have completed the age of thirteen years, and shall not be a Christian, Mahommedan, or Jew." It in fact makes " confusion worse confounded," for if it could be proved that on the conversion of a Hindú his marriage ties become severed in the same way as they would on his death, then it is not a little embarrassing to have an Act of the legislature thrust upon you which does not say that the marriage ties remain intact, and which takes it for granted that a person is a married person who is no such thing. There can be no doubt but that the legislature wanted to assist people out of a great difficulty. It was right in its intention, but it failed to grapple with the real difficulty. It evidently proceeded upon the assumption that the marriage of a convert remained valid after his conversion ; but even on its own ground it has left many open questions. Is the convert who gets his wife through the Act to be allowed to marry again in the lifetime of his wife, as a Hindú would ? Is the wife to be governed by Hindú or English law ? Is her own peculiar property to be regulated by Hindú law ? If so, it is not a little strange that a woman should be forced to come out of a law which is synonymous with her religion, and then let that injured law govern her in other matters. But it is time we proceeded to consider the question I have started : Does the Hindú marriage of a convert to Christianity remain binding upon him ?

A Hindú, when he becomes a convert to Christianity, is, as we have seen from Sir Thomas Strange's book, considered by his relatives to be civilly, and to all intents and purposes, as far as they are concerned, naturally dead. In the language of the Privy Council judgment in *Abraham v. Abraham*, " the tie which bound the family together is so far as he is concerned not only loosened but dissolved. Upon the conversion of a Hindú to Christianity the Hindú law ceases to have any continuing obligatory force upon the convert. The profession of Christianity releases the convert from the trammels of the Hindú law." What binding obligations can there be upon a person dead and gone ? Marriage is a sacrament among the Hindús. It is contracted by a person for both secular and spiritual ends. These two cannot be separated. There are duties enjoined upon a married man, which, if he did not perform, he would be liable to be excommunicated. When, therefore, he becomes a Christian he places himself beyond the pale of Hindúism altogether ; he cannot perform the duties ; he defeats the spiritual ends of marriage.

If the other party to the contract chooses to renounce him, what law is there which says the marriage cannot be dissolved? True, there is no positive law which directly dissolves the marriage; but to do so it is not necessary that there should be a law. From the very nature of the case it is unnecessary, and I am confident that the marriage would be held to be dissolved if it were contested in a Court of Justice. There have been many cases where wives have given up Hindúism to come and live with their husbands; they have voluntarily revived their former relationship, and lived as husbands and wives; but even in their case I question very much if they would be legally declared to be married, and their children born subsequent to their conversion held legitimate, without a second marriage ceremony, according to Christian rites, being performed. Their case would be exactly like a divorced wife and a divorced husband living as husband and wife after their divorce in this country; and such living according to English law does not revive the marriage tie. When a marriage tie is altogether broken it would not seem to be in the power of the married people to resume it again without a fresh marriage.

There is another consideration which clearly proves to my mind that the marriage cannot but be considered dissolved, and that is, the necessity that existed for the *Lex Loci* Act. The Hindú law declared that an out-cast should not succeed, and it was acted upon till the Act was passed. The Hindú law similarly declares that the marriage of a converted Hindú should be dissolved, and there does not seem to be any ground why this injunction should be disregarded. In this case too, I submit, an Act of the Legislature is necessary to keep the marriage on foot. There is only one authority—if it can be called an authority at all, for it is only an opinion, though of an eminent writer—which says that the marriage, under the circumstances, is not dissolved, and that is as follows :¹—

“In the case of civil death also, the relation of husband and wife is not absolved, *for if both of them be so circumstanced, they are still husband and wife*; ² if one only, he or she, can join the other, either in the degraded state (in which case they both are regarded as *civiliter mortuus*) or after being purified by expiation: on the other hand, the person who was not *civiliter mortuus* can join the other, who is so, sharing his or her fate; and in all of these (latter) three cases the dormant relation is revived.

¹ Vyavastha Darpana, by Śámá Chárín Sirkar (Calcutta, 1859), p. 744.

² The italics are mine.

The circumstance of one of the married couple dying in the state of degradation unatoned for, and the other remaining pure at that time, is the only one that causes absolute dissolution of their marriage or the relation of husband or wife, as then ceases entirely all connexion of the deceased with the survivor, who in that case is not to perform the deceased's funeral obsequies and to offer periodically and annually the oblation of food and libation of water to his or her manes. Thus Sankha and Likhita :—'Of him who has been formally degraded, the right of inheritance, the funeral cake, and the libation of water, are extinct.' The *Brahma-purāna*, too, says : 'Of degraded persons there shall be no cremation, nor funeral sacrifice, nor gathering of their bones.' "

It is difficult to understand what the writer means by saying that "the relation of husband and wife is not absolved, for if both of them be so circumstanced they are still husband and wife." Suppose that both of them are not so circumstanced, then clearly, according to the writer's tenor of argument, the marriage must be considered to be "absolved." If one of them is a convert and the other not, the marriage is suspended, and a suspension of marriage is clearly against the spirit of Hindú law. In cases of crimes which can be expiated by penances there is hardly any suspension of the marriage tie, though other ties are for the time being suspended. And Christianity is an inexpiable crime. There have been cases where converts after a great many religious sacrifices have been received back into Hindúism by their families ; but these reinstallations have not been approved of by the public conscience of the country, and the families where they have taken place have had to suffer religious privations. But grant that the marriage ties may be and are suspended, we have seen that when both the husband and wife become Christians they must be married over again to insure legitimacy for their children.

What, then, will be the effect of Mr. Maine's Act (21 of 1866)? It will only bind conscientious converts, unwilling to take advantage of the complicated state of the law. For those who are not so disposed, notwithstanding that Mr. Maine intends to call them "married," the law will be a dead letter. They are unopposed by any law to marry again upon abjuring Hindúism. The very fact of their doing so would absolve their marriage, and as divorced men they would have no account to render to any one for their second marriage in the lifetime of the first. Even conscientious people would be deterred from taking advantage of the Act, for the process appointed to be gone through before the hus-

bands or the wives are recovered is very tedious, and will cause no end of delay. People must be very good—indeed, exceptionally so—if they wait two years for the accomplishment of an object, when they have it in their power to gain it at once at their pleasure. As for love prompting them to seek for their first wives, we may dismiss that consideration from our minds. In the majority of the Hindú marriages there is no love between the parties before the nuptials are celebrated. It is the father of the bridegroom who falls in love with the bride, and the father of the bride with the father of the bridegroom. The young people do not see one another till the evening of the marriage. If they are married when young they do not see one another once in six months—the wife remaining with her parents and the husband with his. Add to all this the fact, that the majority of the wives possess minds utterly disfigured by a superstitious religion, and without a ray of enlightenment, and the majority of the young bridegrooms are bristling with enlightenment, metaphysics and social reform, and taking in grandiloquent transcendentalism. Then again, when they live together, they do not see one another but at nights. The husband goes into his wife's apartment at about ten o'clock at night, and comes back to his own at six o'clock in the morning, like a guilty lover, unable and unwilling to see the light of the sun.¹ They do not eat together. Except in bed, they do not talk together. They have nothing in common, but the accidental circumstance of their marriage, brought about without any active co-operation on their part. What love, then, can there exist under the circumstances? If it had not been for the religious injunction which compels the wife to bear every calamity her husband may inflict upon her, a Hindú household would be a second pandemonium. As it is, things go on quietly. When the parties get older and older, by mutual association, though it be at night, they conceive a sort of respect for one another, and when there is issue of the marriage, love for it connects the two in a more binding link. Such being the case, what sensible man would wait the time appointed by the Act, go through an expensive and vexatious litigation, and run the risk of losing it in the bargain? Though it took two years to pass the Bill into law, and a great deal of controversy beset its path, it is one of the worst drawn and least considered Acts of the Governor-General's Council, bad as they often are. It does not settle any disputed points, and it can serve no good purpose.

¹ I must be understood to be referring to the married life of young people.

There is yet another complication in the Hindú marriage laws which I must ask you to permit me to bring forward. This has only lately arisen, without any fault on the part of the legislature. It is connected with the residence in this country of young Indians for at least a number of years—a circumstance allowed by every one who has given any thoughts to India to be full of the best results for the prosperity and well-being of that country. Every one admits that these visits should be encouraged, and the Government have even been asked to go to the expense of paying for them, both directly and indirectly. In a country like India, where the people have hardly any public spirit at all, and are mostly extravagant and poor at the same time, Government interference in matters which would create and promote public spirit in the country cannot but be beneficial. And one of the first things conducive to public spirit is a residence in this country, or in any part of Europe except Russia and Spain. Government cannot be too importunately asked to provide for more of these visits; for that will be a bright day for India, when the streets of this metropolis will be covered with the people of India walking harmoniously with the people of the United Kingdom. When these people return to their native land, they would contribute to the formation of public spirit, with the assistance of which the British Government would find it much easier to rule the country than without. But bright as the results are which must flow from Indian residence in England, it is not without evils; and the evils are connected with the laws of marriage. It is well known, that when a Hindú visits this country he loses his caste, and is excluded from all communion with his relatives and friends. When he returns to his country he is a stranger there, cut off from all his connexions. If he does not belong to the Brahman caste, he may expiate for his loss of caste and be readmitted into his former social position. But who, except an idiot or a person unworthy of the name of man, would for one moment think of going through a lot of degrading ceremonies for the purpose of regaining his caste? Who would unlearn all enlightenment, all powers of thought, all public spirit which are acquired in this country, and with eyes blindfolded go back to his former state of utter mental chaos and darkness? Who would be such a coward as to show to the world that for a degraded social position (for all the penances in the world will not take the stigma of your loss of caste from you) he would give up his principles—his self-taught principles, and eat his enlightened life? And if any one did so

what is the use of his coming over to this country? Enlightenment is not so "over head and ears" in love with Europe that she may not be made to extend her influence to India. People in India may be enlightened and educated without coming over here. They may read the same books as when here; read the same newspapers; attend similar scientific and literary societies. The object, as I understand it, of coming to England is to free oneself from a social bondage which makes one forget all one's ideas; to acquire a healthier habit of social life; to learn the rudiments of freedom; and, above all, to protest against the religion and the social customs of his people. Even when people come for mercantile and educational purposes, they must be taken to have this object in their minds. They may not have analysed it; they may not hold it in the language in which I have put it; but from the very nature of Hindûism they cannot avoid having this object. Hindûism banishes from its communication all those that cross the seas and live in the land of the *Mélochos*, and they who do cross the seas must necessarily protest against Hindûism. Well, suppose a person after a few years' residence in this country goes back to India, and after expiation is taken back to his family, what good does he do? What purpose does he serve? None at all. Instead of holding up his enlightenment, his European enlightenment, as unassailable and fixed upon a rock, he lets superstition master it, and thus confesses the power of darkness over light for all practical purposes. He misguides the enthusiasm of others who may desire to follow in his footsteps, and thus, far from doing any good, he is a positive evil, and does no end of mischief. We shall, then, consider the case of the person who does not go back to the old family. What are his relations with his wife? Does the marriage remain valid? Is he entitled to marry again without availing himself of Mr. Maine's Act? But, first of all let us consider his position in this country. Is he a married man? Is he prohibited from marrying in England because he has a wife in India?

These questions are no doubt full of the gravest difficulties, and at one time would have been insoluble; but since the case of *Hyde v. Hyde and Woodmansee*,¹ most of the difficulties have disappeared. This case holds, in substance, that a marriage polygamous in its essence is not recognised by the Matrimonial Court of England, and is one which will repay a careful study.

This authority of Sir James Wilde (by the way, the decision has not

¹ L. R. Probate and Divorce Cases, i. 130.

been appealed against) is not the only one in support of the principle that polygamous marriages are not recognised in Christendom. The late Mr. Justice Story, an American law writer greatly esteemed by the English judicial authorities, says :¹—"The general principle is, that between persons *sui juris*, marriage is to be decided by the law of the place where it is celebrated The most prominent, if not the only exceptions to the rule, are those marriages involving polygamy and incest. . . . In respect to marriages involving polygamy and incest, Christianity is understood to prohibit polygamy and incest, and therefore no Christian country would recognise polygamy or incestuous marriages." I need hardly remind the meeting that Hindú marriages are in their essence polygamous, and therefore, according to Sir James Wilde, unrecognised by the Courts in this country. So far as these Courts are concerned, a Hindú married man apart from his wife is a bachelor, able to contract marriage according to the laws here. If he did contract such marriage, however seriously he may offend against the rules of morality, he will not subject himself to any punishment which it is in the power of secular or ecclesiastical courts to award. But in the estimation of his moral offence, too, we must not lose sight of the peculiar circumstances of his case. Hindúism marries him to a woman, or rather a child, before he understands what love is ; the ceremony of marriage he does not understand, and he is equally ignorant of his duties as a husband. He no doubt cohabits with his wife after her age of puberty, but he is obliged to do so. I have known cases where his mother and other near relatives have positively forced him to sleep in the same bed with his wife. It is not strange to believe that the marriage will be consummated under these circumstances. But when the young man is freed from his slavery, when he breathes a fresher and freer atmosphere, mixes unreservedly with ladies, is allowed to admire the latter's qualifications, and to sympathize with their thoughts, finds out minds most congenial to his own, and is frequently in the company of such minds, is it to be wondered at that he should not be such a saint as not to wish to marry his love—mind, love for the first time? How many persons have it in their power to resist themselves when placed in this position? The desire would be natural indeed, and precipitated by no law forbidding its being carried out. When a new marriage is thus contracted, look at the position of the wife in India.

¹ Story's Conflict of Laws, 6th edition (Boston, 1865), p. 168.

A widow—nay, worse than a widow, for she will not, I apprehend, come within the meaning of the word “widow” in the Widows’ Marriage Act in India. Those alone who know the economy of a Hindú family will be able to realize to themselves the position of a Hindú woman without a husband. Her life is a burthen so hard to bear, that death comes to her as a dear friend.

Coming to the case of the men who go back to the country, their position is that of outcasts completely beyond the pale of Hindúism. As such they stand on a similar footing with converts, and must be governed, so far as their relationship with Hindúism is concerned, by the same law—that is, by no law at all. Converts are better off than they are, for they adopt the law of the sect they join. But the outcast who belongs to no sect in particular is like the Bráhm̐, and there is no doubt in my mind that his former marriage ties are irrevocably dissolved; he is to all legal intents and purposes a bachelor.

In connexion with this part of my subject I must bring to the notice of the meeting another great evil, and that is, the position of European women when they marry natives of India, in India or here. Some little time ago a case came before the criminal side of the Madras High Court, where the prisoner was charged with bigamy, under, I think, the Indian Penal Code. I cannot give any reference to the case, for I only met with it in the public prints, but the records of the Courts will doubtless show the circumstances of the case. As far as I remember them, the prisoner was a Hindú by birth. He became a convert to Christianity when he was of mature age, and, as a Christian, married a European lady, under Christian rites. He subsequently renounced Christianity, went back to his former faith, and married a Hindú lady, having thus two wives at the same time. At the instance of his first wife he was indicted for bigamy, and after a most careful trial and elaborate argument the presiding judge held that the man could not be convicted for bigamy or for any other offence, for, according to the present state of the marriage laws of India, he had committed none. The judgment of this learned gentleman is well worthy of the deepest consideration. Another case also occurred, but this did not come before any judicial tribunal. Here a man had married an Englishwoman while living in this country. On his return to India he married another woman, entirely neglecting his first wife, who was reduced to a state of the greatest misery. This man was a Mahommedan by religion.

Now it does not need any arguments to convince you that this state of things calls loudly for redress. We have seen that as regards one sect, there is no law to govern it, and in the two other instances, although there is a semblance of law, it is not of the slightest use. At the present moment the honour and happiness of confiding European women, and of helpless Hindú women, are absolutely, and without the slightest check, in the hands of men who have every inducement to turn villains, and whom the strongest possible sense of honour and morality is alone able to keep to the right path. Human nature in all ages and in all climes is very much at the mercy of its passions. It is more helplessly so when it is introduced from a state of bondage to one of comparative licence. Few as the cases have been of the nature I have just described, they must be considered with reference to the number of people who have come over to this country, or who have embraced Christianity. If out of fifty men of education one turns bad and unprincipled, the per centage is very great indeed, and ought to make people reflect as to the best means of putting it beyond the power of any one, however virtuous, to act as he likes in a matter of such grave import and consequence to society as marriage.

What, then, is the duty of the Government of India with regard to this question? Is it to hang on unheeded by the authorities? or is it to be satisfactorily solved; and if so, when? Is there any danger to the peace and tranquillity of the country if Government interferes in the matter? Leaving the Bráhmós out of consideration for a moment, let us examine the position of the Government with regard to the Christian and Apostate complications, if I may be allowed so to express myself. As a general rule, I think, in social matters of this description Government interference does more harm than good. It is the duty of the Government to preserve peace in the country; to protect it from foreign invasion; to apply its resources to its development; and generally to look after the interests of the people. Beyond this the Government has no right to go. What should be the religion of the people, what their social customs, what their family duties, and what their morality, must be left to the people themselves. And this specially so when the Government is not elected by the popular voice in the country. In a popular government the people are supposed to be consenting parties, through their representatives, to the laws that are made, and if a religion is changed the people have not such a right to grumble as the subjects

of a despotic government. These have no voice in legislation, and therefore do not consent to anything that is done in the legislative line. But, though Government interference is undesirable in these delicate questions, it is the incumbent duty of a state to protect the weak from the strong, the harmless from the criminal, the gentle from the rude. In a country where there is a powerful public opinion the state of things I have referred to is soon righted. The guilty are shunned by the well-disposed, and the former find their lives so unbearable that they get very few to follow their infamous conduct. But for public opinion to be powerful, a country must be in a settled state. The popular mind must not be agitated with perpetual unrest, not for any definite cause, but for a vague and undefinable fear. India, however, is in anything but a settled state. It is now passing through a revolution, compared to which the bloody revolutions of war are as nothing. The national mind, especially of young India, has been unstrung. Old ideas are fading away without giving place to new and healthy ones in their stead. It may be safely said that no society, in the European sense of the term, is to be found there. The sects have all their adherents, but these adherents are scattered all over the country; there is no unity between them; there is not any superior voice to command them; and each family is allowed to do anything, however heinous, it chooses, only if this does not contravene the ceremonials of the religion. It will be easily believed that the prosperity of the country is not very safe when the mind of the people is in this state, and I say the Government is bound to take care of this prosperity. With reference, then, to the "Christian and Apostate complications" of the Hindú marriage laws, it is the clear duty of the Government to interfere. It may do so very quietly. A short act declaring (1) that a Hindú marriage should not be considered void upon the abjuration of Hindúism on the part of the husband or wife for Christianity, Mahomedanism, Judaism, Parseeism, or Rationalism—in short, that, notwithstanding the excommunication, formal or otherwise, of a Hindú from his caste, if he is a married man he should remain a married man, unless he obtains a divorce under Mr. Maine's Act, which must, of course, be amended to meet other cases besides Christianity; (2) that an unmarried Hindú convert "taking unto himself a wife" according to Christian rites, should be always governed by the Christian marriage laws, even if he went back to his former faith, and that a second marriage, according to Hindú rites, in the lifetime of the first should be

void *ab initio*, unless before such marriage the first marriage was dissolved by the order of a competent Court of Justice; and (3) the last provision should be made applicable to cases where there has been no conversion to any established religion.

The case of the Bráhmós is more difficult, for there the Government will have to decide whether they ought to be encouraged or not. This decision, however, is not very difficult to arrive at, for the sect exists, and it is entitled to protection from the State. In their case, as I think it ought to be in all native marriages, the marriages ought to be registered before a registrar appointed by the State. The registrar, as in England, should have power to marry people of different or the same religious persuasions, and the issue of such marriages should be declared legal. As regards the law of succession, such sects as have no law ought to be permitted to declare and choose from amongst the many systems of jurisprudence that prevail in the country, at the time of the marriage or afterwards, by solemn declaration before the registrar. In cases of intestacy, such law should prevail, as also of testamentary documents which violate this law. In cases where any definite system of jurisprudence prevails, the effects of an intestate should be left to be administered by that law. A great blow may also be dealt against the infamous systems of early marriage and polygamy that obtain in the country, by a side wind. The Act appointing the registrars has only to declare that no marriage should be solemnized by them where the husband is under sixteen and the wife under fourteen years of age (this will be easy now that births are registered), and that the marriage, once duly performed before the registrar, shall disqualify the husband from marrying again in the lifetime of each other, unless the marriage is dissolved; provision being, of course, made for divorce for good and sufficient cause.

Whether or not the doubts I have mentioned in the marriage laws exist, and whether or not the reforms I have suggested are necessary, must be left to the judgment of India and its well-wishers. My statements may be incorrect, my inferences wrong, my arguments fallacious. If I have taken an erroneous view of this matter, I have the satisfaction of knowing that I was not actuated by any motive of wantonly casting doubts where none existed. Upon a cursory consideration of the subject these doubts first struck me. I considered them more and more, and each time the conviction gained ground in my mind that the doubts

were real. Feeling an interest, far above adequate description, for the well-being of my country, and ardently desirous of contributing to it to the best of my power, poor though it is, I could not refrain from stating my views to this meeting. If I have misled you, believe me I have not done so consciously. Nothing but a firm and religious conviction would have extracted this paper from me. My misleading you, however, will do us no harm, and that is the "flattering unction" which I lay to my soul. But if, on the contrary, I should happen to be right—if the laws are unsettled, and if grave consequences are mixed up with this uncertainty, then we ought to leave no stone unturned till we get the Government to remedy this gigantic evil which must ensue, and which has already ensued, in time. The points I have suggested, therefore, are worthy of consideration by this Association, the Government, and the country at large; and, as a means of bringing about such consideration, I beg to move, in conclusion, "That our Managing Committee be requested to submit this question to the General Purposes Committee of this Association, with instructions to examine it, and report their views to the Association as early as convenient."

Mr. E. P. Wood—Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in rising to second the proposition made by Mr. Bonnerjee, although there is much in the paper he has read to the meeting with which I do not fully agree. I think it is a subject of such great importance that it is well worthy of being looked into, and therefore it is a proper subject to be referred to the General Purposes Committee. I think that the parallel which has been drawn by Mr. Bonnerjee between the decision with respect to Mormonism, and that which it may be supposed is likely to be given when the question of a Hindú marriage comes before the courts for decision, presents really no analogy at all, because Mr. Bonnerjee has stated that, according to the Charter, our Government recognises the Hindú law, and it is part of that law, which depends upon Hindú customs, that marriages should take place in a certain manner. And if a marriage has taken place, whether a polygamous marriage or with a single wife, inasmuch as it is a Hindú custom our country recognises it; therefore it would be an exception to the case of polygamy as affecting the Mormons. Then, with respect to the difficulty which Mr. Bonnerjee has raised as to the rights of inheritance in the case of the Bráhmós, it appears to me that, although there might be some difficulty for a short time, one single decision by the Privy Council would be sufficient to put the law right on the subject; for, supposing that a member of the Bráhmós sect should claim to be entitled to certain property, he would claim it as a Hindú who had lost his caste; but according to the Act to which Mr. Bonnerjee has alluded, he would not be liable to lose his property because he had lost his caste. Then he would be a Hindú in other respects, although he had lost his caste, and the marriage would not come in question.

Then suppose that he obtained the property, although not losing his caste, or suppose that the father claimed it, and there was no transmission of inheritance through a person deceased; if the father got it, then the question would be, to what sect did he belong? It would then soon become recognised that he was a member of the Bráhmós sect, and that being so, in a case of inheritance, if he proved that he was a member of the Bráhmós sect and he was not liable to lose his inheritance, then there would be a recognition of the Bráhmós sect before the courts; the Bráhmós sect would then be judicially recognised by the courts of law in India. If that were so, and if any other question arose, the Bráhmós sect being recognised, they would then begin to prove the custom of the Bráhmós sect, and that would give them by the ordinary rule of Hindú law the right of inheritance. It depends not only upon the different schools which exist, but it depends upon the custom of the province in which a person resides; for instance, if a person in the Province of Bengal can prove that he belongs to a sect which has its seat in the North-Western Provinces, instead of taking according to the Hindú law in Bengal, he will take according to the Hindú law which prevails in the North-Western Provinces. Again, if a family can prove a special custom in a province, then the inheritance will descend according to that special custom, although it may differ from that of the schools, and of the people of the province amongst whom they live. I am of opinion that if there were a judicial recognition of the sect, then that judicial recognition would lead to their inheriting amongst themselves according to their own rights and customs, and the difficulty which Mr. Bonnerjee has pointed out would not arise, because they would follow the ordinary Hindú rule as to inheritance. The only difficulty which I feel is, as to the law with regard to bigamy, which one cannot very well follow out in this hasty manner; but it appears to me that it is well worthy of consideration, because no doubt great questions are involved in it. As I have stated, I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition, that this question shall be referred to the General Purposes Committee to be considered in all its bearings.

MR. BONNERJEE—The Act recognises Hindú and Mahommedan marriages, but only in India, not in England; therefore the principle to which I have referred in the Mormon case will hold. With regard to the Bráhmós sect, I have pointed out that they cannot be considered Hindús at all, therefore the remarks which have been made by Mr. Wood do not apply to the questions I have raised. Besides, I must say I do not see the prudence of waiting till an authoritative decision is pronounced by the Privy Council with reference to the Bráhmós. Such a decision would, no doubt, have the effect of an Act of Parliament; but why not have an Act beforehand?

CHAIRMAN—Gentlemen, the Resolution which I have to submit to you, which has been proposed by Mr. Bonnerjee and seconded by Mr. Wood, is that "the Managing Committee be requested to submit the question to the General Purposes Committee of this Association, with instructions to examine and report their views to the Association as early as convenient."

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI—Before the Resolution is put, may I be permitted to make one remark with regard to the Parsee Matrimonial Law? Mr. Bonnerjee seemed to think that there was no definition in the Act. I think, however, that a definition is

to be found in another Act with regard to succession and inheritance, and that is probably the reason why it is omitted in the Act to which he has referred.

CHAIRMAN—Those who are in favour of the Resolution will be good enough to signify the same in the usual way.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Captain BARBER—Gentlemen, I beg to propose a most cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Bonnerjee for the very able and interesting paper which he has read to the meeting. I am perfectly sure that the Managing Committee will pay every attention to the subject when it is laid before them. My object in proposing this vote of thanks is not only because I think it well deserved, but also to give the meeting a little information about the Association. Since our last meeting, nearly three months ago, 104 gentlemen have joined the Association, among whom there are five life members. I may mention also, that Lord Clinton has consented to become a Vice-President of the Association. Colonel Sykes and Lord William Hay have also been invited to become Vice-Presidents. We have received a donation of £100 from His Highness the Thakoor of Bhownager, and also a donation of £50 from His Highness the Thakoor of Rajkote. I wish also to call the attention of the gentlemen present to the fact, that there will be an extra meeting next Friday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, when a Paper will be kindly read by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, entitled, "The Expenses of the Abyssinian War:" the chair will be taken by Lord William Hay, M.P.

AFTERNOON MEETING, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1867.

LORD WILLIAM HAY, M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

CHAIRMAN—Gentlemen, I will not occupy your time by making any remarks in introducing MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI. It is unnecessary for me to say anything to induce you to listen to him with attention, because he has addressed you at least three times in a manner so intelligent, has shown such a knowledge of the subjects which he has brought before you, and such a regard for the interests of those whom he so well represents, that I am sure it would be superfluous for me to say anything in his favour. The subject which he has now taken in hand is a somewhat delicate one; and I am afraid that his paper, however able, will not have any particular influence, nor lead to any immediate results, inasmuch as the question at issue was decided last night in the House of Commons. But, notwithstanding that, I think we shall all be very glad (because I presume he will argue that no part of the expenses of the Abyssinian War should come out of Indian funds), in spite of the decision of last night, to hear the Paper which I expect from him in support of that view of the question, and I trust that it may lead to an amicable discussion, entirely free from anything like party feeling.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI then read a paper on the

EXPENSES OF THE ABYSSINIAN WAR.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN—In our views on Indian matters we shall sometimes agree and sometimes differ with the Indian Government. When we agree, we shall be only too glad to express our views accordingly. When we differ, either from looking at the subject from a different point of view, or from more or less information, we shall respectfully lay before the Government our views. In doing so, it cannot be supposed that our object is to set up an opposition party. On the contrary, our object is co-operation, as the aims both of the Government and of ourselves are the same, viz. the good government and welfare of India. I believe that Government would rather be glad than otherwise to know our independent views, provided we always confine ourselves to a dis-

passionate and careful examination of their acts, and lay our reasons of difference before them in a becoming manner, especially making "measures, not men—arguments, not abuse," our rule of conduct. I hope, therefore, I shall not be misunderstood for laying before you my views, and you for expressing yours on the subject of this paper.

I beg to submit for your consideration that the decision of the Cabinet not to pay the ordinary pay of the Indian troops employed in the Abyssinian expedition is an injustice to India, and an injury to the prestige of England; that the decision is not only unfair in principle, but contrary to the reasonable practice of former days. I first examine whether there are any past events or precedents which can guide us to a just decision.

When the English Government was only one of many independent Indian Powers, and when temporary assistance like the present was needed from each other, on what principles was such assistance given and taken? I find that in these cases the English had acted on the fair and equitable principle that the party receiving assistance should pay the *whole* charge of the troops during the period of assistance. I shall not take up your time with many extracts, I shall give only three or four short ones. In the treaty with Hyder Alli, 1769, it is provided (Article 2)—

"That in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall, from their respective countries, mutually assist each other to drive the enemy out. The pay of such assistance of troops from one party to another to be after the following rates, viz. to every soldier and horseman fifteen rupees per month, and every sepoy seven and a half rupees per month. The pay of the sirdars and commandants to be as it shall be agreed on at the time."¹

The treaty of 1770 contains similar stipulations, which are again confirmed in the treaty of 1792.

In the treaty of alliance with Bazalut Jung, 1779, it is provided (Article 4)—

"If the Nawab Shujah-ool-Moolk's territories be invaded by an enemy, we shall, besides the troops that are stationed with him, send such a sufficient force as we can spare to his assistance. The ordinary and extraordinary expenses of such troops, whatever they may amount to,

shall be paid agreeably to the Company's established customs by the Nawab, who will sign the accounts."¹

Again, in the treaty with the Nizam, 1790 (Article 4)—

"If the Right Honourable the Governor-General should require a body of cavalry to join the English forces, the Nawab Asuph Jah and Pundit Prudban shall furnish to the number of 10,000, to march in one month, &c. . . . The pay of the said cavalry to be defrayed monthly by the Hon. Company at the rate and on conditions hereafter to be settled."²

In the "Articles explanatory of the 3d Article of the Treaty of Mysore, concluded in 1799," Article 3 provides—

"If it should at any time be found expedient to augment the cavalry of Mysore beyond the number of (4,000) four thousand, on intimation to that effect from the British Government, His Highness the Rajah shall use his utmost endeavours for that purpose; but the *whole* expense of such augmentation, and of the maintenance of the additional numbers at the rate of (8) eight star pagodas for each effective man and horse while within the territory of Mysore, and of an additional sum or batta at the rate of (4) four star pagodas a month after the expiration of one month from the period of their passing the frontier of Mysore, as described in the 2d article, shall be defrayed by the Hon. Company."³

Now I ask why this reasonable and just practice should have been subsequently departed from. I hope the standard of fair play of the Crown is not to be inferior to that of the Company. Next, I ask a few questions. Suppose the tables were turned, and England sent some troops for India's assistance, will the English tax-payer and Parliament allow the assistance without charging India with the *whole* expense?—or rather, has the British Government ever given any assistance to the British Indian Government, or the British Indian Government to any native Power, of the sort, without making the receiver of the assistance pay *fully*? Suppose some subjects of the Nizam were held in captivity by some Arab chief, and the Nizam, to liberate his subjects and to maintain his honour, deciding to send an expedition to Arabia, requested his allies, the British, to assist him temporarily with troops; would such assistance be given without charging the Nizam with the pay of the troops, as well as any extra expenses? If not, then on what grounds of equity or fair play should

¹ Atchison's Treaties, vol. v. p. 36.

² Ibid. p. 44.

³ Ibid. p. 168.

England now get the Indian troops without being charged for their pay? Why, instead of the British Government having ever given any assistance of the kind, it has a few accounts to settle with its conscience for having made India pay even more than what could be fairly due from it.

It is said that India will lose nothing. What is it that the troops are kept in India for? Whatever that is, that India loses. If it is nothing, then the army should be reduced by so much. If it is something, then India is not losing nothing. If the troops are required for security, then it is unfair that India should be deprived of that security, and yet be made to pay for it. The question resolves itself into this: Should the pay of the troops be allowed to be a saving to India or to England? For if India is made to pay, it is so much a saving to England, and if England pays, India saves so much. Now whether on the grounds of equity, or of need, or of ability, certainly India has the claim to be allowed to save what it can. England has always charged for everything she has given on similar occasions, so she should not now shrink from paying when it is her turn to do so. The need of India to save whatever it can, is greater than that of England. Famines, intellectual and physical, are its crying evils, and the weight of a large army keeps some of its urgent wants in abeyance. Lastly, England is the richest of the two, and well able to pay for what it receives. The very circumstance that England is able to avail herself of a ready-made army, a very convenient base of operations, and the services of Indian officials and of experienced Indian officers, is in itself a great advantage to the English tax-payer.

It is urged, that because the prestige of England is important, therefore India must contribute. But what prestige is it that England has and needs to maintain? Is it that England is poor in means and unfair in dealing, or that her resources are as great as her arm is strong, and that her sense of justice is above suspicion? Here England sends her envoys to Abyssinia, and finds in its ruler a troublesome customer. Her honour is insulted, and her representative is kept in captivity. The prestige which England has to maintain under such circumstances is to shew that she is *herself* able to hold her own, from her own resources; not that she is so poor or unfair that she is unable or unwilling to pay for the very troops which are employed in vindicating her honour, and liberating her own representative, and helps herself from the Indian purse. Can the world be blamed if they consider it strange that the England which

is ready to spend some four millions or more for her honour, should shrink to pay a few hundred thousands?

However, even the question of the few hundred thousand pounds is not of so much importance. A far more important question, of the principles of the financial relations between the two countries, is involved in the present course of the Cabinet: Who is the guardian of the Indian purse? and are the British Government and Parliament absolute masters and disposers of it, or is it a trust in their hands to be discharged on some equitable principles? I should think that in the present condition of the political relations of England and India, the Indian Secretary ought to be its natural guardian; that he ought, when English and Indian relations are to be adjusted, to act as if he were an independent Power, representing Indian interests, and negotiate with the Foreign Secretary on terms fair and equitable to both parties. If this position of the Indian Secretary is faithfully acted upon, India will have the satisfaction to know that they have some one here to protect them from any unjust treatment, Parliament being the ultimate court of appeal. The Indian Secretary, instead of offering to make a present to the English tax-payer from the Indian revenue, ought to protect it from any encroachment. India is unable to protect itself, and as the British Government and Parliament hold its purse in trust, it is the more necessary for them that they should not be generous to themselves with others' trust-money, but, on the contrary, adopt the only proper course of treating the trust with the strictest justice and care, especially in the relations with themselves.

Clause 55 of the Indian Government Act of 1858, runs thus:—

“Except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions, or under sudden and urgent necessity, the Revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by Her Majesty's forces charged upon such revenues.”

The evident object of this clause, I submit, is to prevent the application of Indian revenues except for Indian purposes, or otherwise the clause means nothing. If Indian revenues can be applied for the payment of troops beyond the Indian frontiers, then the clause becomes simply useless, for England then can use Indian troops under any circumstances, as the two grounds—viz. of Indian purposes, and of loan to England for her own wars—will embrace all cases.

I have now laid before you as briefly as possible my reasons why England should pay the *entire* expense of the Expedition, under any consideration, whether of justice and fair play or prestige, with the hope of eliciting an impartial discussion from you. Upon the necessity of the expedition, and when and how Englishmen should vindicate their honour, it is not for me to tell them. Among the nations most able to uphold their honour, the English have never held a second place. Their whole history, and their instinctive love of liberty and honour, are enough to satisfy the most sceptical, that England is well able to take care of herself, and to know what her honour is and how to uphold it.

When I wrote this paper I could not know the reasons of the Government; therefore I must crave your indulgence while, in continuation of the Paper, I make a few remarks on the Debate of last night. But, in making those remarks, it is far from my intention to make any personal reflections on any speaker: Parliament has accepted the reasons, and decided upon the resolution; consequently any remarks I may make apply as much to Parliament itself as to any of the individual speakers. To make my remarks as few as possible, I shall just read a few extracts from some of the speeches of last night, which give nearly the pith of the whole argument, and give my views upon them. Sir S. Northcote said—"From the first moment that this expedition was thought about, early in the month of April last year, in reply to communications addressed to the Secretary of State in Council, we stated that we were willing to place the resources of India at the disposal of the Home Government, but must stipulate that, as the matter was one in which Indian interests were not concerned, India should not bear any portion of the charge. At that time it was clearly understood, though we did not put that into the despatch to the Treasury, that, though we were determined to resist any attempt to charge the revenues of India with any new burthen, we did not, to use a homely expression, want to make money by the transaction." This amounts to saying that India must pay under all circumstances. If Indian interests were concerned, then, of course, India must pay all; and if Indian interests were not concerned, then also India must pay for the troops in order "not to make money." Can this be considered right? Sir Stafford Northcote says—"It is said, and we have said it ourselves, that India has no interest in this matter. That is perfectly true if by 'interest' you mean material interest. But there are principles which should be upheld in the interest of both countries, even at the cost of blood and treasure, and one of them is this—that envoys of the Sovereign of this country should be protected by us. That is a leading principle of international law, and we should be untrue, not only to ourselves, but to the civilized world, if we fail to uphold it." If that principle is to be admitted, if the envoys of England are to be protected everywhere at the expense of India, then India could be made to share in the expenses of a European or American war. Also, in other words, if the United States dismissed an English ambassador, and insulted the

dignity of the Crown, and if the Crown went to war with America, India must contribute for it; or if the Crown embarked in a European war, India must contribute.' This, I trust, would not be allowed by Englishmen as just. Again, the interests of the Colonies are as much, or perhaps more, involved in this principle. What are they contributing to the present expedition? And would they be always ready to act according to the principle laid down in the extract I have read? Sir Stafford Northcote has been at great pains to show that the news about the Abyssinian captives, and the efforts made to release them, is carried to the natives of India, and that in undertaking this expedition the opinion of the people of India about the power and resources of England is most important to be taken into consideration. If it be considered so important that the prestige of England should not suffer in the slightest degree in the estimation of the natives of India, then that is just the reason why Parliament should not have passed the resolution. For it will be naturally thought that though the English Government admit that the war is for their own purposes, that it is for liberating their own captives, that it is for vindicating England's honour; yet they, while ready to spend five millions, or ten millions if necessary, to protect their country's honour, and to punish its insulters, take from India a little because India cannot help herself. That cannot increase the prestige of England in India; it is likely to have just the contrary effect, not only among the natives of India, but perhaps among all Asiatics.

Let us now consider the precedents brought forward by Government for what they propose to do now. We have the Persian war and the Chinese war referred to. There is one important difference between the precedents I have brought before you and those of the Government. In the precedents I have referred to there were two parties, both able to take care of themselves, who negotiated with each other, and who were able to strike the right balance between them; whereas in the case of Government precedents the holder of the purse was also its disposer, without any voice from the owner, and therefore the transactions themselves required examination. Even granting, for argument sake, that former transactions were in just proportions, they are not at all applicable to the present expedition. The Persian war and the Chinese war do not bear analogy to this. In the Chinese and Persian wars we can, at least, trace some Indian concern—with the former commercial, with the latter political, the alleged necessity of arresting Russian progress; but Government itself acknowledges that, in the present expedition, Indian interests are not concerned. All these present complications have arisen without the India Office or the natives of India having anything to do with the matter. It is entirely the Foreign Office affair. Even at present it is the Foreign Secretary who takes the whole brunt of the battle in Parliament, and the only way in which India is brought forward is that it is the best agency through which the Foreign Secretary can accomplish his object of carrying on the war in the cheapest and most expeditious way possible. Sir Stafford Northcote says—"All that India undertakes to do is to lend her troops, without charge, as long as she can spare them. That is the principle upon which we have proceeded, and which, I contend, is a just and liberal one. I say it is just, because India really loses nothing whatever in point of money; she only continues to pay that which, if the expedition had not

been ordered, she would still pay; and it is liberal, because India places at the disposal of Her Majesty forces which the Imperial Government could not obtain without paying for them." If to be prevented from saving when saving can be made, is not losing, then I do not know what losing means. Again, if India loses nothing, then how can there be any liberality? I have no doubt if England ever needed aid or liberality, India, from very gratitude to England for the position in which it now stands, ought, and would, strain every nerve to give it. But is the present such a case? The world naturally does not like trustees to be liberal to themselves. It is a matter of regret, more on account of England herself, that she should present the spectacle of, on the one hand, being able and ready to spend any number of millions for her honour, and on the other of taking a few hundred thousand pounds from India for the pay of the very troops to be employed in vindicating that honour. However, had Government stopped at the argument of liberality, or sense of gratitude, or friendly feeling towards England, there would not have been much to complain of, and the natives, perhaps, would have been glad to have been looked upon as friendly; but by citing precedents for justification, and arguing for rights, the question assumes a different aspect, and occasions the present discussion. Then the Government has taken very great pains to prove that after all what India has to pay is very little, and that if all the former precedents were followed it would have had to pay more. But suppose it is a small affair, then it is a greater pity that they should have made so much fuss about it, and not paid this little themselves, and should not have taken this opportunity to show that they are as just as they are strong and rich. Sir Henry Rawlinson says—"Our system of Government in India was essentially for the maintenance of our power, and when we spoke of Indian interests we meant our own interest as the ruling power of India." If that is the case, and that is the guiding principle of the Government, then against such argument of the rights of might there can be no discussion. But I believe the English Government to be guided by the principles of justice and truth, and not of the rights of might. Sir Henry Rawlinson says—"The Royal Navy now fulfilled gratuitously all the duties connected with the defence of India, that were formerly discharged by the Indian navy—a service which drew heavily upon the Imperial Exchequer; and in many instances the Home Government had sent out, at its own expense, expeditions of which the objects more nearly related to India than to the rest of the British Empire." I have no right to question the truth of that statement. I only say if it be true, and as it is also intimated by Mr. Gladstone, that India is better off in its financial relations with England, it is indeed a great pity that the natives of India should be allowed to remain under a false impression. If it be true that England has, on occasions, performed services for India to which India has not contributed, it is in the first place necessary, for the sake of justice to both parties, that the financial relations between the two countries in respect of those services should be fairly examined and adjusted; and next, if India has been so benefited as alleged by England, it is proper and just that India should know and feel that benefit, and knowing it be grateful for it. At present India is under the impression that England, having the purse, appropriates it at its own pleasure, and that unjust burthens have been placed upon her. As Sir Henry Rawlinson has not given us any

instance of what he refers to, we are left in the dark ; but against his statement there is one of another authority, equally, if not more important. Lord Cranbourne says—“ At all events the special injustice of the course now about to be pursued consists in this : that when we employ English troops in India they are paid for out of the Indian revenues from the moment they land in that country ; but when we employ Indian troops on English duty, we say that India must pay for them.” I do not, of course, impute to Sir Henry Rawlinson, who has only lately given a signal instance of his sense of justice to India, that he would state anything that he did not thoroughly believe. I wish he had given the cases, for it is very desirable, for the sake of both countries, that the real state of the case, in regard to this matter, should be known. It is also necessary to know how far the Colonies, which also benefit by the Royal Navy, contribute to it. Then there is some stress laid upon this, that India benefits by this expedition ; that by the expedition going from India, stores are brought there, and money is poured into the country ; but nobody can seriously urge that, therefore, India must contribute to the expedition. I do not suppose that cotton merchants, or ship-owners, paid anything towards the American war because they benefited largely by its occurrence. The fact is, that India is resorted to on this occasion in order that the interests of the English tax-payer may be served in the best possible manner. Lord Stanley distinctly stated that he referred to the Indian Secretary, and to the Indian authorities, in order to carry out the expedition in the most successful way. He found in India a ready machinery for carrying out the expedition. That induced the English Government to make India the basis of operations. In concluding my remarks, I once more suggest that the discussion should be confined to the one point which I have brought before you, and I hope that we shall follow the advice of our noble Chairman, and not be guilty of any personalities, but shall confine ourselves entirely to the arguments of the case. It is my sincere conviction that Lord Stanley or Sir Stafford Northcote would never allow any injustice intentionally. All their acts would at once refute any contrary assumption. I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Fawcett and the other twenty-two members, and the English press, for their advocacy of justice to India.

Mr. Low—My Lord, and Gentlemen, I am frequently brought into communication with officials, and it has struck me on very many occasions what an extraordinary investigation it would be if one attempted to analyse official minds. If one goes into any department one would almost think that there must be a telescope upon each desk, the larger end of which they look through if a question arises likely to affect the particular department, whereas if it is a question which does not affect their department, but some other department, or the country at large, they seem to look at it through the smaller end. I recollect some years ago there was a question which agitated the country very much, and which was brought before the House of Commons, relating to the Baron de Bode's claim, and it was generally admitted then that he did not succeed because of the largeness of the amount. I believe this resolution never would have passed the House of Commons last night if the amount in question had not been so small as £300,000. If the question had been, should India pay half the expenses of the Abyssinian Expedition ? the Government would not have carried the resolution they did last night. It was in fact because of the smallness of the amount

that this matter was settled in the way it was. Take the whole of the arguments brought forward, and what do they amount to? That you are to go back to the custom in feudal times, when each feudatory in this country was compelled by the custom which prevailed, to supply a large number of men to the assistance of the king. When that custom prevailed it was one amalgamated country. Is it so with regard to India? Do we consider India an integral portion of the British dominions? If so, why do not we guarantee the interest of their debt? We have chosen, in order that the revenues of India may bear the expenses which properly belong to India, to keep distinct and separate the two financial accounts. But supposing a short time ago, when the war occurred in New Zealand, it had been said to the Australian Legislature, We are engaged in a war in New Zealand which greatly interests you, because we are carrying it on in order to keep in subjection the native tribes of New Zealand, and therefore, as it will have the effect of inducing the natives in Australia to keep quiet, you must pay a portion of the expenses of the war; that, as it seems to me, would be analogous to the present case. If you look at the question in the pure light of justice, the finances of India should not in any way be burdened with the expenses of the Abyssinian war. If we carry on an English war, having, as we have, one general exchequer, all parts of the country are supposed to contribute towards it; but that is not the case with regard to India. It is said that India sustains no loss. Suppose two offices belonging to the same firm lent a certain number of their clerks from one to the other, it would be of no importance whether the one office was debited with the expense or the other; but it is not so with regard to India. India either sustains a loss by the withdrawal of the troops or she does not: if she does sustain a loss we should make up that loss to her; if she want the troops there, they ought to be there, and if she does not want the troops there, there is no more reason why India should be taxed for the purpose of paying troops employed out of the country than any of the other colonies. I think all those who have read the debate of last night must feel that the great speech of the occasion was Lord Cranbourne's. His was the speech of an honest man. I heartily echo the recommendation of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji that we should avoid all personal allusions, but I must say that I, as an Englishman, felt greatly disappointed at Mr. Gladstone's speech. It appeared to me not only to beg the question, but to be diametrically opposed to his own views as expressed on other occasions. One hardly knows the meaning of it. Possibly there may be some complications expected to arise hereafter which may render it exceedingly desirable that there should be apparently an amalgamation between the various parties in the House of Commons. That may be the reason why Mr. Gladstone spoke in the way he did. But whether that be so or not, I may be using very unparliamentary language when I say that I think it a perfect disgrace to this country. I for one, as a tax-payer, do not like for the sake of a farthing in the pound to commit injustice to India. That seems to be whole question, whether we are for the sake of a farthing in the pound to do wrong to India. If this is to become a precedent for the future it is a matter of very serious importance, because if India is to pay the expenses of the Indian troops in Abyssinia, why should it not be made to pay if a European war broke out, and it became necessary to withdraw troops from India for the purpose of fighting battles in other parts of the world. If this takes place without a solemn protest on the part of those

interested in India, we shall find that not only will very serious complications arise, but the consequence will be a vast amount of political and national dishonesty. If this question were well agitated throughout the country we should find that the Government would have the support of a very small minority, for they have done very great injury to India in the way they have treated this question.

Mr. BONNERJEE—As every one here seems to think that the revenues of India ought not to be charged with the expenses of the Abyssinian War, I beg to move that the Managing Committee of this Association be requested to draw up a protest embodying the opinion expressed by this Meeting against the determination of the Cabinet and the House of Commons to charge the Indian revenues with a portion of the expenses of the Abyssinian War, and to send it in the name of the Association to the Secretary of State for India. As your lordship has remarked, there is hardly any use in expressing our opinion against this determination, because the determination has been come to, and will not be departed from; but still there is such a thing as moral force, and although we have not the power to make the Cabinet change its determination, we can bring forward as much moral force as possible to show that the determination of the Government has given dissatisfaction, at least to the Members of this Association. The English press, I think, generally—at least the Liberal press generally—have taken up the matter on behalf of India. I do not think it would be at all out of place if we sent a protest to the Secretary of State for India. I think the fact of the whole matter is this, the Government dare not go to Ceylon, to the colonies in Africa, or to Australia, and ask them to pay a portion of the expenses of this war. India is weak, and therefore must be made to pay. I believe the philosophers of England take a pride in saying that the doctrine that “might is right” has been banished to the regions from which no traveller returns; but it does not seem to be so, because the House of Commons, which is supposed to embody the philosophy, the education, and the intellect of the nation, has brought the doctrine that “might is right” from the dead regions. As regards the argument which Sir Stafford Northcote has used, that if these troops had stopped in India, India would have to pay for them, if there were any force in it India should be made to pay for every soldier ever landed in India, because if the soldier had stopped in India, India would have to pay for him, and therefore, whether dead or alive, India should come forward and pay for him. The whole argument is fallacious from beginning to end; it is only put forward because Sir Stafford Northcote is obliged to give some reason.

General NORTH—I rise, not to make any remarks upon the paper which has been read by Mr. Dadlabhai Naoroji; it appears that all in the room are of the same opinion. I only wish to remark that it would not be quite in form that such a resolution as that proposed by Mr. Bonnerjee should be passed at this meeting, which is called for the special purpose of hearing a paper read upon a special subject. If it is wished to pass such a resolution, the proper way to proceed would be by a certain number of the members of the Association, in accordance with the regulations of the Society, signing a requisition to the Managing Committee to call a General Special Meeting for the purpose in question.

The CHAIRMAN having pointed out to the Meeting that the motion proposed by Mr. Bonnerjee had not been seconded,

Mr. MENTA seconded the motion, insisting that it was competent for the Meeting to pass it, and stating that he supported the protest, not for any present benefit likely to arise from it, but as a record for the future, that the precedent had not been established without objection having been made to it.

Mr. CRUSHOLM ANGER—Fully concurring, as I do, in the object with which the resolution is proposed, I am afraid it is already defeated by anticipation. Gentlemen talk of precedent; the precedent has been set and established long ago. While I believe it in my conscience to be a very evil precedent, I am bound in justice to the particular minister whose policy is here in question (I mean the present Secretary of State for India) to say that the expenses of an Abyssinian War range themselves under a head of expenditure which most unhappily has been put upon India ever since the limits of the late East India Company's Charter were defined. I am no dissident from the proposition that it is most unjust to tax any outlying dominion of Her Majesty for the purposes of a war which is not a local war. It is not fair to talk of Sir Stafford Northcote or Sir Henry Rawlinson, or anybody else, as being about to establish a precedent—the real difficulty being that we have to get rid of a vast deal of unwholesome precedent before we can put ourselves right in dealing with the policy of throwing upon India the expenses of this most unhappy war. The term used to be “the Forces of the East India Company;” not the army merely, but the navy as well. The forces of the East India Company were established in the year 1754 by parliamentary authority, having existed without any authority at all long before that. Parliament then established them by passing an Act giving power of life and death over the forces in the service of the united company of merchants trading within the limits of the Company's charter. Now the limits of the “Company's charter” is a term which you find continually recurring down to the time when that immense change took place in the administration of the East India Company by the Act of 1833. Down to that time there was not a single Act passed, whether relating to civil or military government, that did not prescribe, not the limits of India nor the Indian seas, but the limits of the East India Company's Charter, as the military and naval limits. What were those limits? They were first of all fixed in the year 1698, by the Act of 10th William III.; and I put it to his lordship, and I put it to the Meeting, to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Mr. Bonnerjee, whether Abyssinia is not fairly within those limits. “Into and from the East Indies in the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and into and from the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, towns and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza” (which meant the Cape of Good Hope) “to the Straits of Magellan, where any trade or traffic of merchandise is or may be used.” Now, so far from narrowing those extraordinary limits, the very last Act which I have had time to consult to-day, an Act passed in the time of George the Fourth's regency, extends them by declaring that for certain purposes the Cape of Good Hope itself shall be within the limits; that is to say, anybody who has been to the Cape of Good Hope knows that it is both South-west Africa and South-east Africa. The old Act made so much as was South-east Africa within the limits. The Act of George III. and a subsequent Act of George IV. made also the south-west portion of Africa for certain purposes within the limits of the charter. Therefore all the Acts relating to military and naval

obedience on the part of the forces of the East India Company—and recollect that your Secretary of State for India is only the East India Company incarnated in a single man—all the Acts which relate to the forces of that delegated power specify as the limits within which martial law may be enforced, both afloat and ashore, those identical limits from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, and so onwards, with an exception which I will presently mention: that exception is this, that for some purposes, and some purposes only, the charter was cut down in respect of territories lying in the South Pacific up to 11° south latitude; but then those very Acts which so reduced those limits, went on to say that from 11° south latitude northwards to any distance, trade should be absolutely forbidden to all but the East India Company, and consequently naval and military obedience should be due within those limits even up to Europe, from all persons in the service of the Company, even though serving out of the East Indies. So completely was this tradition adopted by the legislature as well as the executive, that Acts were passed for the purpose of excepting the Levant Company which traded in the Mediterranean from the operation of these very Acts relating to the East India Company, and also similar Acts were passed for exempting the South Sea Company from the operation of these very Acts. That was the law, and is the law, that wherever the old East India Company might have traded, whether it did trade or not within those limits, military and naval obedience was due from the forces lately of the East India Company, now Her Majesty's forces serving in India. That being the law, let us see how it has been applied. I will ask any gentleman present, is there a single war in the East upon which he can put his finger the expenses of which (I mean so much as has not been borne by the conquered enemy) has not been borne by India where the war has been declared or been in any way provided for either by the late East India Company or by its present successors. I am, unfortunately, old enough to remember that a curious controversy took place about the Affghan War, the question being, who made it?—because if it had been made by Lord Palmerston, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, then it was argued by the Court of Directors of the late East India Company, it ought not be paid for out of the revenues of India, but should be paid for out of the funds accessible to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, namely the general revenues of the country; but it was admitted that if Sir John Cam Hobhouse made the war, then the Court of Directors, though most averse to it, had nothing to say; and the question was for two or three years in abeyance who was to pay for it. And I recollect well a promising debate in the East India House was brought to a sudden conclusion by the intimation from one of the directors, “If you aggravate the present Government” (the Government which had succeeded to that of which Sir John Cam Hobhouse was a member)—“if you provoke the present Government by any undue persistence on this point, they will not do what Sir Robert Peel, the present Prime Minister, says he means to do, take the expense of the war upon themselves.” Accordingly the debate collapsed; but the promise was not kept, if the promise was ever made, because the whole of the expenses of the war were, I believe, paid for out of the Indian revenues; and for this reason Sir John Cam Hobhouse, when he appeared before a committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the military and naval expenditure, said, with great pride, “I made the Affghan war.” The President of the

Board of Control, who represented at that time very much what Sir Stafford Northcote represents now, the home as well as the Indian authority in this matter, made that war. Now the question is, with regard to the present war, which took the initiative, the Foreign Office or the India Office? If we may believe Lord Stanley—and I see no reason for supposing that he has not spoken the exact truth—he had not been drawn into it quite so soon as the Indian Government, whether of Bombay or Madras or the Supreme Government I do not know, had managed to draw Sir Stafford Northcote into it. It is perfectly plain that this was treated as an Indian question at an early period, though no doubt it has now become a foreign question. The Indian Government have been mixed up in the matter, and the Indian Government, according to the old Acts, have the power of commanding the services of its forces at any place between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, northwards as far as the limits of the charter of the Levant Company, which only traded in the Mediterranean, or westwards as far as the limits of the South Sea Company, which never traded at all, and has long ceased to exist. It appears to me that the practical view to be taken of all this which I have been saying is this. Revise the whole system. Do not make this an Abyssinian war question only. Seize the present opportunity to turn the attention of the people in England and in India to the real point, which is this, the adjustment of the respective boundaries of Imperial and Indian finance. You have plenty of lights and precedents to guide you if you choose to seek them. You have them in the history of your colonial empire. You have also beacons to warn you of the dangers to be shunned. We lost thirteen colonies in North America because we persisted in throwing upon their independent legislatures, in spite of their will, a burden of taxation which they said was not local, and with which they were not intended to have anything to do; but we retained in connexion with us a vast number of colonies, and we have added to them since, equally free and independent in point of legislation with those we lost, and we did it by leaving to them and their legislature the performance of that moral duty, that duty of imperfect obligation to which Mr. Dadabhai so fitly alluded, for providing for the necessities of the metropolis. I was reading this very day the speech of Mr. Wyndham, the Secretary at War during the great war of the French Revolution, on moving the army estimates, exactly three-score years and eight ago this 29th of November, in which he took credit for two sums which had been voted by two independent legislatures towards the expenses of the general war; the Irish Parliament, which was then in existence, voted one, and the little legislature of Jamaica voted the other. Is it not far better to retain our foreign possessions in cordial and filial obedience, and yet at the same time to receive their supplies, than to lose them in the vain attempt to extort money from their necessities, their vanity, or their fears? We must put this question on its true footing—we must call for a thorough investigation and revision of the whole scheme of Indian and Imperial finance. We should first have regard to the fact that there are four great presidency towns, each having a distinct Government; and having adjusted the relations of England and India *inter se*, we should then proceed to adjust the financial relations of the various presidencies. It would be an immense work, but one in which every man, no matter what his political opinion may be, would be happy to join; a work which we might undertake without engaging in any of those personalities which Mr. Dadabhai

very properly repudiated, and which I have endeavoured to avoid; a work, the performance of which would entitle us to the gratitude of the Government and of the people.

Mr. GANTZ drew the attention of the meeting and of the learned gentleman to this fact, that the 21st and 22d Victoria limits the definition of the term "Indian possessions." It says (*reading the section already read by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji*). He contended that that Act limits the term "Indian possessions" to a very great extent indeed, and that they do not now include the Cape of Good Hope or the Straits of Magellan. The paper read by Mr. Dadabhai dealt with the subject in so exhaustive a manner that at this late hour of the evening he did not propose to offer any argument upon it.

Mr. TAYLER—My Lord, and Gentlemen, the very few words which I would have ventured to address to you as a new member of this Society have been so completely anticipated by the learned gentleman who has given you so learned and elaborate a disquisition upon the limits of the command over the Indian forces, that I will merely throw out a suggestion for the consideration of the meeting with respect to the proposed protest. Having been asked to attend this meeting simply to hear an address read by the gentleman who has so ably opened the question, I did not come, and I doubt whether anybody else came, prepared to enter into a protest against the actual decision which has been come to by Parliament. Deeply and sincerely interested as I am in the welfare and prosperity of India, and thoroughly prepared as I should be, from my long experience in that country, to advocate and support any measure which had its interests at heart, I do think that now, after these discussions have taken place in Parliament, it would be almost premature, and certainly ineffectual and useless, to enter such a protest. Indeed I doubt whether it would not injure the real cause which all the friends of India have at heart, if we were to adopt such a proceeding. I fully agree with Mr. Anstey, who has given us such a formidable account of these illimitable limits, that the great question is the principle hereafter. I think all those who are friends of India may be content on this occasion to be liberal, and to pass over this particular question, but I do most fully agree that I think it of the utmost importance that we should take all the proceedings we possibly can, through the agency of this Society, to enforce for the future a distinct understanding with regard to the principle upon which the funds and revenues of India should be dealt with. If we devote all our energies to that object we shall do good, but I think if we adopt the proposal now made we shall do more harm than good. I think an independent Association of this kind, having the welfare of India at heart, may do immense good if it conducts its proceedings with judgment and conscientiousness and firmness of purpose. Of course, no one who really, and truly, and conscientiously considers the interests of India, would stand quietly by and allow Parliament or Government to put their hands into the purse of India and make free with it as they chose; but I think on this occasion it would be almost ungenerous, and certainly impolitic, to make any opposition to this particular proceeding.

Mr. Low—I think this discussion shows that this Association is calculated to do a great deal of good; and, adopting the views of the last speaker, I would suggest, instead of the resolution submitted by Mr. Bonnerjee, that it be referred to the

Managing Committee to make arrangements for calling an early meeting to discuss the question as to the best manner in which to bring the influence of this Association to bear upon the Government and the country at large with respect to the way in which the finances of India and the finances of the imperial treasury are to be treated in future. If we were to pass such a resolution as that, and Mr. Bonnerjee were to withdraw his, I think we should be very much strengthened.

Mr. ANSTEV—I second that.

Mr. BONNERJEE then withdrew his motion.

The CHAIRMAN—I think the discussion this evening has shown us the necessity of something corresponding to what are known in the Houses of Parliament as standing orders—something to guide us in the way of conducting our proceedings. For instance, with regard to this motion, such a motion should not be admissible without at least one day's notice. In the present instance such a notice would have been most valuable, because gentlemen would have come better prepared to discuss it. Then, again, in the House of Commons, in the course of a debate no member is allowed to speak more than once. We have had one or two instances this evening of the same gentleman speaking twice.

General NORTH—I wish to explain with regard to what I said upon Mr. Bonnerjee's resolution, that it was merely to the form in which the matter should be carried out that my objection had reference. I wished that this meeting should not be considered as pledging the East India Association generally to any protest, and that a meeting of the Association should be called by the Managing Committee before such a protest should be resolved upon.

Mr. MEHTA made a few remarks in reply to those speakers who objected to the proposed protest, insisting that the present occasion was one which should not be lost.

Mr. ZORN suggested that in accordance with the 14th rule, if no such bye-laws already exist, the proposition of the Chairman should be carried into effect that a code of bye-laws should be drawn up by the Managing Committee and laid upon the table.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI—I have scarcely anything to say on the subject of the paper itself, because there seems to be but one opinion upon it. With regard to the important question whether such a resolution as that proposed by Mr. Bonnerjee can be brought in here at once, without giving notice to all the members, I may say that I think such a mode of proceeding would be open to great objection. A member perhaps may not care to come to a meeting if he knows that all that is to be done is to read a paper and discuss it; whereas, if he knew that there is to be an important practical resolution brought forward he may be induced to come. A member would not like that, without notice being given to him, an important resolution should be passed, of which, had he been present, he would have disapproved. When we go to Government to make a protest of this nature it is necessary that we should not allow any link to be missed—that we should have complete accord in what we do, and complete order. We might on every possible occasion make protests, but there is such a thing as over-doing a thing, and frittering away our energies. We shall have to go to the Government from time to time; but let us reserve ourselves for those occasions so important that we may then go with some weight, and have some attention paid to

what we have to urge. Parliament having now come to a decision upon this question, if we were now to go to the Government with a protest it would merely be placed in the records of the India Office. If we place what has passed this afternoon upon our records it will have as much effect. We have reason to be satisfied with the unanimity with which this paper has been received. To-day's proceedings will be published in our Journal, which we send to all the Government officials, and others taking an interest in Indian questions, by which they will see that the East India Association do not agree with the resolution come to by Parliament. With that I think we should be satisfied. Moreover, it is not the Indian Government with whom the question now rests. We now complain of Parliament. Parliament has sanctioned the proposition, and therefore Parliament is responsible; but it would be of no use to lay a petition before Parliament. I had intended to suggest that if you agreed with the views I had expressed in my paper, a petition to Parliament should be presented. But I thought such a course would not be a right one to take; first, because I had given no notice of such a resolution; and next, because if we go on worrying Government about every little thing in this manner we will certainly lose our weight, and not receive that attention which we might receive on extraordinary and important occasions. Therefore I think, in the first place, taking Mr. Bonnerjee's resolution on its own merits, it would not have been advisable to agree to it; and in the next place, I think whenever any practical matter is to be brought forward, in which practical steps are proposed to be taken, fair notice should be given to the members of what is going to be done. Then with regard to Mr. Low's resolution, it is in fact the whole labour of the Association to adjust fairly the financial and all other relations between England and India. Mr. Low's resolution proposes that the Managing Committee should take steps to do that. It is a large work. I do not see how the Managing Committee will be able to do anything in the matter unless several members came forward to take it upon themselves to read separate papers upon the different branches of the subject.

The CHAIRMAN—The resolution I have to put, is proposed by Mr. Low and seconded by Mr. Anstey, "That the Managing Committee be requested to convene a General Meeting of the Association for the purpose of considering the financial relations at present existing between the Imperial and the Indian Governments."

On a show of hands the Chairman declared the resolution to be carried.

SIR VINCENT BURN—I rise to propose a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Dadabhai for the very able paper which he has read. I confess I myself have heard that paper with the greatest pleasure, this being the first occasion on which I have been able to attend the meetings of this Association, which I have recently joined. I cannot but feel proud, after hearing so able a discussion as that which we have heard this afternoon, in belonging to a Society which is evidently so well calculated to uphold the best interests of India. I am sure every one must have been struck, not only with the eminent ability with which the paper has been drawn up, but with the admirable judgment with which the arguments have been supported. I am sure there is but one thing to be regretted, namely, that a paper of that nature, so calculated to elicit the truth on so vital a point, should have been read but one day too late; for I cannot but believe that had that paper been placed, as we have heard it, before the House of

Commons previous to their last night's debate, it must have had a very considerable effect in modifying the decision at which they have arrived. I beg to propose, therefore, a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Dadabhai for the paper in question.

SIR JOHN LOW—I second it.

The CHAIRMAN—In putting the resolution I wish to say that I quite agree with what has fallen from Sir Vincent Eyre as to the extreme ability shown in the paper which has been read by Mr. Dadabhai. I only regret that there was no one here this afternoon to take the other side. No one will suspect me of any leaning towards that side, because I was one of the 23 who voted with Mr. Fawcett last night, but at the same time I must say it rather spoiled the effect of this afternoon's discussion that there was no one to take the other side, and to show, which might without great difficulty be shown, that there is something to be said in favour of the view taken of the question by a large number of influential gentlemen. I have no intention of entering into that now; but there is a great deal to be said for what England has done, perhaps not so much materially as morally. Everybody must feel that England has raised India into a great Power in Asia—raised it, I will not say from the lowest depths, but from a state of stagnation in some respects, and from a state of active lawlessness in others, into a country which in point of wealth and resources may well bear comparison with some of the most powerful States in Europe. I shall not trouble the meeting with any more remarks. I believe the Resolution carried this afternoon will really lead to some good effects. I am quite sure if the practical minds of the gentlemen who honour these meetings with their presence are brought to bear upon questions such as we have been discussing, an immense amount of invaluable good will be done. What Members of the House of Commons feel, and what renders debates on India so extremely devoid of interest, is, the want of knowledge on Indian matters. Indian subjects, too, are so often treated in a dull, disagreeable, technical sort of manner as to render them extremely repugnant to Members of the House of Commons. If we were to manage to dress up, as it were, the immense amount of knowledge on Indian matters which those who have resided in India possess, into an intelligible form, and to furnish Members of Parliament with reliable information, an amazing amount of good might be done by our Association.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was put and carried unanimously.

PRESENTATION OF AN ADDRESS

TO

SIR HENRY BARTLE EDWARD FRERE, G.C.S.I., K.C.B.

FROM

THE PRINCES OF KATTYWAR.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1867.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD LYVEDEN, PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION, IN
THE CHAIR.

THE native Princes of Kattywar having applied to the East India Association to arrange a public meeting for the presentation of an address from the Princes to Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., late Governor of Bombay; the Association engaged the large room at Willis's, King Street, St. James's, and issued cards of admission to a meeting on Thursday, the 5th of December, when the interesting ceremony took place, under very satisfactory circumstances. The chair was occupied by Lord Lyveden, President of the Association, and the following ladies and gentlemen, with very many others, were present:—Lady Frere, the Misses Frere, Lady Chelmsford, Sir Vincent and Lady Eyre, Sir W., Lady, and Miss Hall, Sir G. and Lady E. Arthur, Gen. Sir A. Waugh, Sir J. and Lady Scott, General Sir Edward and Lady Green, Colonel Sykes, M.P., Mr. Crawford, M.P., and Mrs. Crawford, Sir C. Wingfield, Sir Edwin, Lady, and Miss Pearson, Archdeacon, Mrs., and Miss Wordsworth, General C. F. North, General Sir Justin Sheil, Sir Henry Young, Lady Franklin, Count Cloëté, General and Mrs. Balfour, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Duncan, Captain and Mrs. Henderson, Mr. and Mrs. S. P. Low, General Wilkinson, C.B., Colonel and Mrs. Robertson Aikman, General J. F. Bird, Sir Henry Anderson, Mr., Mrs., and the Misses Gordon, Mrs. Festing, Admiral King, Admiral and Mrs. Tarleton, Miss Matthews, Miss Dowell, Hon. Colonel and Mrs. Thesiger, Mrs. and Miss Monck, Mrs. Spain, Colonel and Mrs. Ewen Grant, Manockjee Cursetjee, Esq., Mrs. Harris, Mr. and Mrs. D. D. Cama, Sir P. and Lady Melville, Mrs. Whiffin, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Preston, Sir H. Ricketts, K.C.S.I., Mr. J. W. Kaye, Mr. and Mrs. Scoble, Mr. S. C. Carnac, Mr. Juland Danvers, the Hon. Mrs. Yelverton, Mr. and Mrs. Hatley Frere, Captain H. Barber, Mr. Edden, Baroness de H. Larpent, General Jacob, C.B., Mr. E. B. Eastwick, C.B., Miss Cracroft, Mr. Melville, General J. C. Parr, Mr. Thornton, Mr. T. C. Anstey, Mr. Zorn, Consul Pratt, Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., Mr. and Mrs. Tweedy, Mr. and Mrs. Inverarity, Mrs. W. Frere and party, General A. P. Le Messurier, Mrs. and Miss Yule, Captain and Mrs. W. Palmer, Mr. Bonnerjee, Mr. Pragji Bhimji, Colonel G. S. Price, Dr. Giraud, Major Evans Bell, Dr. and Mrs. Goodeve, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Irons, D. Byramjee, Colonel and Mrs. Goldsmid, and Rear-Admiral Hillyar.

The noble CHAIRMAN, in commencing the proceedings, addressing Sir Bartle Frere, said—I have been deputed as President of the East India Association, which has been formed for the purpose of promoting the interests of India, to present to you on this occasion an address from the independent Princes of Kattywar, acknowledging the eminent services you have rendered to India in the execution of your office of Governor of Bombay. I believe it is now thirty-three or thirty-four years since you first entered the Indian service, and during the whole of that time your career has been marked by zeal and energy, by which you have risen to the high position which you now occupy. My first acquaintance with you commenced when you were filling the arduous office of Commissioner of Scinde, during the period of the Indian Mutiny. In this garish and busy world the deeds of men who triumph by force often meet with the most general applause, but a man like you, who preserved the province you governed intact by a rule so strong and benevolent that rebellion dared not show its outrageous face, equally deserves the praise and thanks of mankind. Your conduct was cordially acknowledged by my colleagues at that time, and I ventured then to give expression to my sentiments in Parliament on your conduct. I can only repeat the same sentiments now. Others may have received higher honours, but you have the consciousness of having deserved them. After that, Sir, you were transferred to the Council of India, where you had the esteem of that great man, then Governor-General of India, the late Lord Canning, a man who never flinched in the hour of peril, and to whom we are indebted, as much as to any other person for the preservation of our empire in India. After that, you were transferred to the Government of Bombay, and in that government you distinguished yourself in a manner that rivalled all preceding governors. You devoted yourself to the improvement of municipal institutions in India, you headed movements for the promotion of charitable and educational undertakings, and supported everything that would tend to the true welfare of the people, and assist in bringing them into a position of dignity and rank which they had never before achieved. Others have talked of such work; theorists have maintained it was the right thing to do; but you did it. You have done more than any one else to develop the system of female education in India, thereby acknowledging the great truth, that in proportion as nations become civilized and prosperous they will appreciate and defend the position of women—not by bestowing upon them the mere attention of the age of chivalry, but by placing them in a sphere in which they may foster a love for literature and the arts, and participate in every rational enjoyment. For that you are entitled to our thanks. And now, having occupied the position of some of our greatest men, of Mountstuart Elphinstone, of Lord Elphinstone, and of Sir George Clerk, you are again introduced to the Council of India, to which your fresh knowledge of India will be of infinite use. I therefore have the greatest pleasure in presenting you this address from the independent Princes of Kattywar, who desire to compliment you on your conduct in that country. Their praise is not an expression of gratitude for favours to come, but for favours past. They desire to acknowledge that you have behaved to them in a manner to conciliate their esteem, and to gain their admiration, and not only theirs, but of all those of this country who know the value of your services.

Capt. BARBER then read the address, as follows:—

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR H. B. E. FRERE, G.C.S.I., K.C.B.

“Your Excellency,—It was our intention before your departure from these shores to have presented you with an address, but untoward circumstances which, perhaps, it would answer no purpose to explain, prevented us. We trust, however, that, though late, this expression of our sentiments of our high respect and esteem for your Excellency will be graciously received. It is not necessary for us to trace your progress in life, from the day you put foot in Bombay as a writer in the Hon. East India Company's service to the day you left its shores as its Governor, or your Excellency's career is patent to all. Though we, the Chiefs of Kattywar, have not enjoyed the advantages of your advice and labours as a civil servant of the Government of India, as have the chiefs and people of the Deccan, we have reason to congratulate ourselves that, notwithstanding the arduous and onerous duties which devolved upon you as Governor of Bombay, your Excellency never lost sight of our and our people's interests. It would have been nothing but natural that, when called to rule this vast presidency, the scenes of your first labours would have had your Excellency's first regards; but it was not so. If your efforts were untiring for the extension of work of public utility in the South Mahratta country, or any other part of the vast dominions that were entrusted to your rule, the advantages to be derived from such works have been as untiringly urged upon us, as we trust we have not been unmindful of the great interest evinced by your Excellency on our and our people's welfare. The promotion of the cause of education, too, has occupied much of your Excellency's time and earnest attention. The fruits of your Excellency's philanthropic exertions are visible everywhere throughout this presidency; and Kattywar, where once no attention was paid to the subject, is now, we have reason to believe, not behindhand with other districts in the establishment and maintenance of schools, where its sons and daughters may have not only a vernacular but a sound English education. Time would fail to tell of the various other matters in which your Excellency's rule has been a blessing to this country. While we feel grateful to your Excellency for your generous efforts to maintain and elevate our position in this empire, we pray the Almighty may long spare your useful life, and grant you health and strength to

enable you to prosecute your benevolent designs for India. With our best wishes for your Excellency, and the respective members of your family, we remain your Excellency's sincere friends."

(Here follow the signatures of about twenty independent princes of Kattywar.)

General NORTH said, after the able and eloquent manner in which his lordship had alluded to the public career of Sir Bartle Frere on an occasion like this, when princes had combined to do him honour, an humble individual like himself naturally felt embarrassed in offering his testimony to the character of the gentleman in whose honour they were assembled that day. But he looked upon it that greatness consisted in the estimation in which the acts of a man were held by his contemporaries. Therefore the opinion of an humble individual like himself might be accepted by Sir Bartle Frere, though not valued in the same degree as that of princes. The career of a civil servant of the Indian Government at this day was not one in which a man could easily get himself classified among the great men of India. In former days there was a wider field than existed at present. There were political relations with independent territories; there were annexations, new territories acquired by the East India Company, which called for great administrative and political ability on the part of the civil servants. In the present day such was not the case. The daily duties of the civil servants in India were so confined by the rules and regulations of the various departments to which they belonged, that it was almost impossible for any man to get further in the estimation of those in authority than to be regarded as a diligent collector or magistrate, or a conscientious, painstaking judge. It had, however, been left to Sir Bartle Frere, under those narrow circumstances, to achieve greatness without departing from the well-beaten track of official life, and by the exhibition of all those talents and characteristics which were the agents and attributes of greatness. He (the General) could testify, from personal observation, that Sir Bartle Frere was held in love and esteem by every member of the Bombay army, and was regarded by all who knew him as the kind and steady friend of the military service.

Mr. PRAGJI BHIMJEE, agent of the Kattywar Princes, said—As the only native of Kattywar now present in England, I feel more than ordinary interest on the present occasion, when we have met here to present an address on behalf of the Princes of Kattywar to Sir Bartle Frere, as a grateful recognition of the benefits they have received during his administration as Governor of Bombay. Before my departure for this country in April 1866 I had been for several years connected with the political agency in that province, and from what knowledge and experience I have gained of the changes and reform during the *régime* of the present political agent, Colonel Keating, I can confidently state that the selection of such an energetic officer to the post of political agent in Kattywar by Sir Bartle Frere was a great boon conferred on the province, reflecting great credit on Sir Bartle Frere for having placed the right man in the right place. The address is an admission that the policy recently inaugurated in Kattywar—namely, that of "Reform," under Sir Bartle Frere's auspices—is a policy essentially beneficial both to the Princes and to their subjects.

It is evident from this demonstration of their feelings, exhibited, I may say, in an unprecedented manner, that the fruits of the system are beginning to ripen. The Princes have shown that they are fully capable of appreciating whatever is well intended for them. The governor who sees a country thoroughly given up to conservatism—that won't move on, that was half a century behind its neighbours—who courageously determines that it shall progress, that its youth shall not grow up as their ancestors, and who sends, to carry out the determination, a competent officer, lives *chulloo* as we say in Kattywar, that is, ever fresh in the memory of those who are receiving the benefits of his encouragement. The reform in almost every department, energetically carried out by the political agent and other officers, was carefully watched and criticised; at first looked on doubtfully, but afterwards with interest, and finally approved by the principal States. In almost every instance in which a chief has shown himself anxious to follow the good example set, he has found himself rewarded in the welfare of his subjects, and by the approbation of our gracious sovereign. It is in Sir Bartle Frere's reign that two chiefs of Kattywar have obtained the Star of India. One cannot omit to mention the great spur that has been given to education. The people of Kattywar a few years ago dreaded this; they now actually willingly send not only their sons, but their daughters, to schools established in the principal towns. The importance of this is patent to all, and is full of promise for the future well-being of the Province.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI said he felt exceedingly gratified that he had been asked to express his sentiments on this occasion. Sir Bartle Frere deserved well of both England and India—of England, because he had done his duty towards her; of India, because he had been to her a kind, wise, beneficent, and able ruler. When we reflected how many were the complex circumstances which statesmen had to consider in the government of a country like India—when we knew there was an aristocracy to be maintained and raised to a sense of its duty, and a people, degraded by long tradition, to be elevated into enlightenment and prosperity—when we knew there were superstitions of long standing to be done away with, and a want of resources and a system of development to be met, the difficulty of government was apparent; and Sir Bartle Frere's great trait had been ability to grasp and grapple with it. In his future career—he did not know but that they might have the satisfaction even of seeing him as Governor-General—India would no doubt still continue to receive the benefit of his services. India could only judge of England by the representatives she sent out, and so long as we send out persons like Elphinstone and Frere, Britain would have no cause to be ashamed of performing her duty towards the vast populations of India. So long as India had Secretaries of State like Northcote, Stanley, Cranborne, and Wood, so long would India be found to be perfectly satisfied with British rule, because in those men we had a stern sense of justice combined with firmness and goodness of character. The British administration, with all its shortcomings, was one of which any nation might well be proud, and its Indian administration would form a glorious chapter in the history of mankind.

Mr. MANOOKJEE CURSETJEE said they had all heard the eulogiums that had been passed on Sir Bartle Frere, but none of the speakers who had gone before had said a word as to his private character. It had been his good fortune to have known

Sir Bartle Frere almost from the hour after he first landed in Bombay, and from that day to this blessed moment they had gone on in their acquaintance, opening into friendship. He might say, whether as a member of the Civil Service, whether as Commissioner of Scinde, whether as member of the Governor-General's Council, or whether as Governor of Bombay, he was the same Bartle Frere, a gentleman every inch of him. The subject of female education was one which had engaged his own attention. It was not the quantity that they wanted, but the quality, and conducted on the English system; and after years of labours they had succeeded in establishing an institution in which English governesses were employed, and they owed this to the encouragement given them by Sir Bartle Frere.

SIR BARTLE FRERE—I thank you, my lord, both personally and in your office as President of the East India Association, for the manner in which you have carried out the wishes of the princes and chiefs of Kattywar who have signed this address, and I beg you will convey to them the expression of my acknowledgments for the great honour they and you have this day done me.

It is the more grateful to me from being so totally unexpected, for till a very few days ago I had not the slightest idea that any honour of the kind was in store for me.

In whatever form it had come to me I should have greatly valued this expression of the goodwill of the princes of Kattywar, because, from the very circumstance of my having been personally but little known to most of them, until I was charged with the government of the Presidency of Bombay, I feel that they can be actuated by no motive of individual partiality, and that my only title to the honour they have done me is my having honestly endeavoured to carry out what has been, for many years past, the declared policy of England with regard to India. The belief that so many of the independent and influential princes of India appreciate the good intentions of the Government and people of England towards them, is to me a source of pleasure far deeper and more permanent than the personal gratification which I have derived from their address, and from the very flattering manner in which it has been presented to me.

And, my lord, in this point of view, I cannot but regard the present occasion as one of no temporary or merely personal importance. It is true that Kattywar is only one of the seven great provinces which make up the Presidency of Bombay. But in many respects it may be regarded as almost an epitome of our whole Indian empire. It is two-thirds the size of Ireland, and but a small portion is British territory; the greater part of the province is divided among many princes and chieftains, under the general control of a British political officer, but all more or less independent, twelve of them exercising powers of life and death, and other attributes of real sovereignty. Some of these chiefs, of Hindú and Rajpoot descent, can show pedigrees, apparently well authenticated, running back farther than any reigning house in Europe. Many of them could prove, in our Courts of Law, that they had ruled, where they now rule, in the days of the early crusaders. Some of the Mahommedan chiefs represent families which were powerful on this coast when their alliance was sought by the admirals and generals of the early Turkish empire—when the great Sultan sent his fleets from Bassora to repel the earliest Portuguese invasion of India. There we find, on the coast of Kattywar, the Portuguese still holding their

ancient settlement of Diu, which they so gallantly defended, and the Mahomedan prince still ruling where his ancestors ruled when they attacked the Christian fortress, while the public peace is now preserved by the distant Government of the Queen of England. I know of no variety of landed tenure, in the whole civilized world, of which I could not produce examples from among the ancient proprietors of Kattywar. The races we find in that province are equally varied. There are to be met representatives of almost every tribe in India, and of every form of Indian belief. The aborigines, whose ancestors inhabited the country when the Brahmins were themselves an invading race, the polished and humane traders who lineally represent that Buddhist religion of which the records are yet to be found graven on the rocks of some of the Kattywar hill-forts, and who look upon the Christian and the Jew, the Mahomedan and the Parsee, who now frequent their coasts, as followers of comparatively modern creeds; old arts of sculpture and architecture, of metal work and jewellery, of writing and illumination, of weaving and wood-carving, still live there, the artists following the same processes whereby their ancestors, in the same cities, wrought for the traders of Byzantium, and of early Venice and Genoa. We, in England, are apt to look on the people of India as less proficient in the arts of war than of peace. But these people of Kattywar are far from being an unwarlike race; arms are still the profession in highest repute next to the sacerdotal office; in no part of India do more of the population habitually carry arms, and in none are they more ready to appeal to their arbitrament.

Since I last had the honour of seeing you, my lord, here in London, some years ago, I have myself been an eye-witness of operations on the Kattywar coast, in the course of which a few insurgents, who had occupied a corner of the province, held it for some months against a considerable force of British troops, and on one occasion successfully resisted a gallant British regiment which attempted incautiously to carry by escalade the old temple in which the insurgents had fortified themselves. The times I speak of were exceptional; but what, my lord, has been the military force with which, for sixty years, this considerable province has been kept in a state of general peace and progressive improvement?

As near as I can gather from the latest returns, I believe that the whole European force, employed in Kattywar at this moment, consists of a detail of British artillery with four guns, and about thirty English gentlemen, employed as officers in various positions of civil and military command. I am of course aware that, as the last resort, the power of Her Majesty's Government in Kattywar rests on the great garrisons of India and of England, but there is no other garrison of European troops within many days' march of the province, and peace is habitually kept, as it has been maintained for fifty or sixty years past; among all these ancient, proud, and martial states, with no other military force of the paramount power than a regiment or two of Sepoys, and a couple of squadrons of native cavalry, and a single battery, or even less, of European artillery. I doubt whether the English military officers on military duty in Kattywar at this present moment number more than twenty men, and there may be ten or a dozen more employed on civil and political duties, under Colonel Keating, the political agent, who rules the province with a sort of pro-consular authority.

This spectacle of a large and populous province kept in order by a mere handful of English gentlemen, and a very small force of English soldiers and disciplined Sepoys, is, as you, my lord, know, not a novel nor an unusual one in India, and it is well worth our while to weigh carefully the causes which have made this possible; for a moment's reflection will convince us that, whatever the cause may be, it is the true secret of our supremacy in India, and the only condition on which we can long hold it—for we all know that no distant country, however powerful or populous, can bear the permanent drain necessary to hold such a possession as India by mere force of arms.

I believe, my lord, the secret will be found to be nothing else than the scrupulous regard which the British Government in India habitually pays to the prescriptive rights and interests of its subjects, and to the earnest desire which actuates all the proceedings of that Government to protect every one of its subjects, whatever his rank, the higher as well as the lower orders, in the peaceful possession of his ancestral rights. We may not have always been successful, or even consistent in carrying out this policy; but the desire to do so has, as your lordship knows, been ever before us.

In Kattywar we have been greatly aided by the existence of a large, powerful, and ancient middle and upper class, of which the chiefs, who signed these addresses, are among the principal leaders; and I believe that this element in the body politic, when directed, as it is now by so judicious, so kindly, and so able a representative of the British Government as Colonel Keating, will be found of the greatest value in promoting the work of permanent improvement.

Colonel Keating has acted on the maxims which, in theory, at least, is never denied by an Indian native prince,—that the true interests of the rulers and the ruled are identical: that you cannot infringe on the ancient customary rights of the chief, without risking the rights of the smallest freeholders on his estate, and that you cannot protect the real interests of the latter class, without strengthening the resources and the position of their feudal superiors. When I paid a short visit to the province this time last year, I found that every one of the chiefs I met was proud to show me, or to tell me of some work of material improvement. Most of them had roads; some, on the sea coast, had piers; and many had ordered out valuable machinery from England for pumping water for irrigation, and for cleaning, and even spinning cotton; above all they had so far forgotten their hereditary enmities and jealousies, as to combine together for the construction of a railroad throughout the province, which only needs the co-operation of the English Government, to link it on to one of those great trunk-lines which the genius of Lord Dalhousie bequeathed to India, and to which the Kattywar line will become an important feeder.

Nor were other and less material improvements forgotten. Many of the chiefs have taken the cause of education seriously in hand, and have adopted practical measures to promote artistic and mechanical, as well as ordinary education. Three of the principal chiefs I found had not only established courts of justice, more regular and better paid than were known in former years, but had drawn up and printed, for their guidance, rules of procedure, and civil and criminal codes, abridged and adapted to local wants and customs from the more elaborate codes in use in British territory.

In all this, my lord, there is, as you know, nothing absolutely new to our Indian system. Colonel Keating has advised and directed the chiefs with admirable tact and prudence; but the spirit in which he has acted is the same which actuated many of his predecessors, some of whom were personally known to your lordship; and others who have left a name behind them as public benefactors in the province, are, at this moment, I believe, members of your Association. In giving Colonel Keating all the support in my power, in furtherance of his good work, I have done no more and no less than my predecessors, to some of whom you have so justly and feelingly referred as models of Indian statesmen.

And what has been the result of this policy?

These addresses are one proof that the chiefs are not insensible to the spirit in which I and my predecessors have acted; but, my lord, I believe that a knowledge of what our intentions are, and a conviction that the policy we have followed is only a part of the permanent policy of England towards India, will produce much more lasting results than mere personal good feeling. Your lordship lately heard Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India state, in alluding to the spirit in which the intelligence of the Abyssinian expedition was received in India, that some of the princes of Western India had come forward with spontaneous offers of service and assistance to Her Majesty, in this great enterprise; and you will have been pleased to recognise that two of the three chiefs named by Sir Stafford Northcote, were princes of Kattywar, who have signed this address. I think, my lord, that this gives us some ground for believing that the feeling of these princes towards our Government is no sullen acquiescence in our rule, and for hoping that the time is not far distant when they may feel that they are themselves indeed an integral, vital, and essential part of the constitution of our Indian empire.

Finally, my lord, I would beg to express the extreme gratification with which I receive these addresses at your hands, not only on account of the past, as I recall the time when I had the honour to serve under you while as President of the Board of Control you directed the policy of Her Majesty's Government towards India, but in your character as President of this Association. The task the Association has undertaken is one, I believe, of the greatest national importance. It may seem a comparatively easy matter, where your range of subjects is so great, to promote, as you undertake to do, the interests and welfare of India generally, but it is a task of no little difficulty and delicacy to keep to that other part of your programme, which binds the Society to abstain from all advocacy of purely personal and local grievances, and from interfering in all questions which are capable of judicial solution.

In this respect, my lord, I believe that the concurrence of English statesmen and public men is absolutely essential to the success of the institution.

I believe much may be done by the Association as a mere means of conveying information to English public men. Statesmen in England are most anxious to be thoroughly well-informed on Indian subjects, but we, of India, have generally an unhappy tendency to treat Indian subjects so technically as to make them distasteful to an English audience; and, I believe, English public men may do an immense service to their Indian associates if as colleagues and auditors they can induce us to make Indian subjects intelligible to educated Englishmen.

But the Association has a far higher purpose than the collection and diffusion of information.

Here, in Europe, nothing is more striking than the tendency to change, which is everywhere visible around us. Even the most placid optimist in London is perpetually reminded that we live in an age of revolutions. Every great social and political problem is, so to speak, up by the roots, and that which our forefathers planted, and under the shade of which our fathers were content to dwell in peace, has often to be re-planted and re-watered, pruned and examined, before the restless children of this generation are content with it.

But rapid as are the changes in Europe, they are much more sudden in India. Everything is on a vast scale, and the tens of millions of intelligent, industrious, and commercial people of India have had comparatively but little political education to prepare them for these changes. They have, it is true, in many parts learnt, by centuries of misrule and bloodshed, the blessing of a settled, well-intentioned government, even though it be a government of strangers. But the generation which saw armies march, and cities blaze, which hailed the scarlet uniforms of England as the harbingers of peace and good order, is rapidly passing away, and with it must also depart the personal recollections of those who regarded the pale-faced children of the North as a sort of incarnation of justice, as well as of strength—who looked on the English “sahib,” not only as a kind of fate, which could not be resisted, but as something divine, which could do no wrong.

We must govern India henceforth, as all the world must be governed, by the divine right of good government; and this task, which is not easy here, in England, is still more difficult in India, where all the elements of change are more numerous and much more potent than in Europe. India has not, like this our Western world, undergone long centuries of preparation for improvement. It is as though all that conduces to change in England, our free laws, our free press, our railways, our steam-engines, and above all our religion and the spirit of free and impartial inquiry which it demands, had been introduced, not gradually and ripening by slow degrees from generation to generation, but suddenly, and as if all the revolutions which have been accomplished during the past three centuries in England had been concentrated in the first fifty years of English rule in India. I believe, sir, that those men who have passed their lives in India, and those who rule the destinies of England, could hardly do a better work for both England and India than by combining together to discuss the great problems of Indian statesmanship before they force themselves upon us as matters which imperatively demand immediate solution. And it is in this point of view that I recognise the work your Association has in hand as one of imperial importance. I look on the addresses you have been kind enough to convey to me, as fresh evidence of the reasonable desire of the provinces of India, to take no inactive share in the great career of the British empire; and I regard the channel through which those addresses have been presented, as one of the means which, by the blessing of the Almighty, may assist India and England to achieve successfully the great work which His Providence has set before us.

On the motion of Colonel SYKES, M.P., seconded by Sir VINCENT EYRE, a vote of thanks was given to the noble Chairman, and the proceedings terminated.

EVENING MEETING.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1867.

GENERAL SIR VINCENT EYRE, K.C.S.I.

IN THE CHAIR.

THE OPENING OF THE GODAVERY RIVER.

BY LIEUT. GENERAL SIR ARTHUR COTTON, K.C.S.I.

It will be seen that the great mass of the land of India slopes towards the east; the great plains of the Ganges, the Mahanuddee, the Godavery, the Kistnah, the Pennair, and the Cauvery, occupy almost the whole of the main central body of India; and all these rivers rise on the western side and flow to the eastern. The only large rivers that flow to the westward are the Nerbudda and the Taptee, and these drain a very small extent of country.

The Godavery rises close to the western coast, near Bombay, and flows with a general course quite straight to the eastern coast, a distance of 800 miles, receiving many very large affluents, especially the Manjera, on the south, and the Wurdah and Wein Gunga, the Indravattee and Sibbery on the north.

From its southern watershed, the streams flow into the Kistnah, and, on the north into the Taptee, Nerbudda, and Mahanuddee, with a very narrow strip of country in the west, drained by many small streams.

The total area is very large, being about 130,000 square miles, or one-tenth of the whole area of our dominions included under the name of India.

The sources of the river are all little more than 2,000 feet above the sea, so that the mean fall of the main stream is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet per mile, but this is remarkably varied.

From very near the Western Ghauts, at Nassuck, where it is 1,800 feet above the sea to Nirmull, 400 miles, the fall averages 2 feet, that town being about 1,000 feet above the level of the sea. Below that, for about 100 miles, the river has, so far as I can ascertain, never been examined and levelled by an engineer; but we have sufficient information to know that there must be a very great fall—above 500 feet—in the next 60 miles, or 9 feet a mile. From thence to the confluence of the Wurdah, 80 miles, the fall is moderate, probably under 2 feet a mile.

From the mouth of the Wurdah the river has been levelled to the sea, the fall being 300 feet in 270 miles, or about $1\frac{1}{4}$ feet per mile.

But the line of navigation which is being opened at present, leaves the main Godavery at Seroncha, and follows the line of the Wurdah to Hingunghaut, a distance of 170 miles: the reason for following this line, and not that of the main river, above the mouth of the Wurdah, is that this is the line that passes through our own territory, the main river above this point having the Nizam's country on both sides of it.

It is this line also that has the least ascent, and that leads into the best cotton country of India, the province of Nagpoor, the cotton from which has often, if not always, been valued at Manchester above American.

This line is also by far the most important as leading both to the valley of the Taptee, by which the connexion may be completed to the western coast, and also to the Nerbudda, several hundred miles of which may be navigated.

It has also now been ascertained that good coal exists over a great area on the Wurdah and Wein Gunga, and also in Chundwarrah, north of Nagpoor; and this will be a matter of first-rate importance, making Coringa, at the mouth of the Godavery, a coaling port.

The objects, therefore, to be gained by opening this river are these:—

1st. To give cheap access to all the northern part of the Nizam's country and to Nagpoor, and eventually to the north-east districts of Bombay, the valley of the Nerbudda, and the southern part of Central India; the whole containing about 20,000,000 of people, who have been hitherto completely shut out from all great markets for their produce, whether in India or foreign countries, and all the prodigious, healthy influences of various kinds which such intercourse implies, for the enormous cost of from 300 to 500 miles of land carriage entirely prohibits all traffic of any consequence.

2d. To open up the finest cotton field of India—indeed, the only one that can fully compete with America in quality.

3d. To convey the coal of Nagpoor to a port.

4th. To give us direct access by water for military purposes to the central provinces of India.

5th. Eventually, to complete the water connexion from the east to the west coast, a distance of 900 miles, thus opening the whole of this tract direct to both coasts, and to the near and distant markets on both sides ; also north to the valley of the Nerbudda, and south to that of the Kistnah, to be connected with the Madras Steam Company's line of canals, extending to Madras, and to the west coast in that latitude.

Before going further into the details of this project, I must, however, take a little time in discussing the question of water-carriage, because, according to my views, it is so generally misunderstood, while upon the right understanding of it depends entirely the degree of importance to be attached to this project. I would therefore state some facts and calculations which are essential to the subject. Nothing is more common in England than to suppose that water-carriage is superseded by land-carriage, after actual comparative trial ; but this is a complete mistake. No real trial has ever been made. Certainly, to some extent animal power on water has been tried against steam-power on land, and even this in a perfectly inconclusive manner ; but there is yet no such a thing as an effective steam-boat canal in operation in the world. And water-carriage—with animal power, in most inefficient, narrow, winding canals, with inconvenient locks—or with steam-power on the open sea, exposed to all the risks, expenses, and inconveniences of ocean transit—is at this moment, with all these disadvantages, effectually beating, on many lines, land-carriage of the most perfect kind that money could afford. The great traffic of England in goods is still carried on by water—by the coast, rivers, and canals—though the distances are so insignificant that the whole cost of transit is comparatively trifling. On its eastern coast, besides the great coal traffic, and innumerable other coasters there are about 1,300 great steamers per annum, of from 350 to 1,000 tons, I believe, running between London and the ports to the north, conveying, with the other coasters, by far the greater part of the northern traffic in goods, several millions of tons per annum.

Five canals and rivers ; the Weaver and the Bridgewater canals in Cheshire ; the Aire and Calder navigation in Yorkshire ; and the Monk-

land, and Forth, and Clyde canals in Scotland—each carry from one to one and a half million tons a year, worked almost entirely by animal power, and in the midst of railways. The Bridgewater canal's receipts last year were 270,000*l.* while contending with three double lines of railway running parallel with them. Now, what must be the intrinsic superiority of water-transit for the great traffic of a country, when it can contend thus successfully against land-carriage of the most perfect kind that enormous cost can provide, and *that* supported by steam. In any other case, what would be the chance of animal power against steam?

And these insignificant canals were made for a totally different state of things from the present, at a cost of about one-fifth to one-tenth of that of railways, and they are, in many respects, quite unsuited to present demands.

What we have yet to see is a complete steamboat canal, cut nearly straight, of 20 or 30 yards broad, fitted for boats of the highest speed, 20 or 30 miles an hour, and of 400 or 500 tons, with locks that can be filled and emptied in a minute.

Such canals could be made in England for one-third or one-fourth of the cost of railways, and even here, with such short distances, England would be saved many millions a-year. One such canal to the South Welsh coal-field would save London, in the carriage of coal alone, a million a-year.

And in all great continental countries like India, where the lines of transit are several hundred miles in length, how much more necessary must such effective lines of transit be.

In France they are now spending millions in improving every line of water communication throughout the empire, from complete experience satisfying them that the railways cannot meet the demands of traffic.

The same in the United States, where immense plans of extension and improvement of their water-lines are now under consideration, to cost many millions. The Erie canal, from the Lakes to New York, 350 miles long, was first cut about fifty years ago, a mere ditch, like the English canals: it soon made the interior so populous and prosperous, that before it had been in operation many years several millions were spent in enlarging it for boats of 220 tons, though two double lines of railway ran parallel with it; and this alteration was not completed before estimates were called for to enlarge it again for boats of 700 tons, in order still further to reduce the cost of transit, and to provide for the

enormous traffic which the low cost of freight produced. And this is in a country where the canals are *always completely closed by frost for five months in every year*. On this line three or four million tons are now carried, and I believe more, for I have not the latest returns.

And it is remarkable that at this moment England is dependent for its main supply of food from abroad upon two lines of canals, viz. this Erie canal and that of Canada. The immense stores of wheat and maize of the Western States are all brought to the coast by these lines, for export to England, not a bushel being conveyed by the railways, as it will not bear the expense of land-carriage; and the whole of this traffic is entirely stopped for five months by the frost.

And so with other things. The one thing that gives America the advantage over India now in cotton, is its water-carriage. It must be observed that it is not the carriage of the cotton itself that is the great item in this matter, though even the land-carriage for that alone would be ruinous, but the carriage of food, &c., to the population that is employed in the growth of cotton. If the cotton-growing states were cut off from distant states by railways, so that they could not get food brought sufficiently cheap, five-sixths of the people must be growing their own food, and the remainder would grow one-sixth of the quantity of cotton, and that at three times the present cost. They are now contending about the duty of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. levied on exported cotton in the States, declaring that this duty is ruinous in the competition with India, while the present cost of carriage of cotton by land from Delhi to Calcutta is 2d. per lb., much more than this ruinous duty in the States.

If the States were dependent on land-carriage, as India now is so generally, there would be a complete collapse throughout the country. The great produce of the Mississippi, corn, would be valueless, and the cost of cotton would be three times that of India; and as soon as the improved lines of water-carriage are completed there, we shall be still more pressed in our competition for the cotton market, and for that of other things, if we have not in the meantime established effective main lines of water-transit throughout India. The American reports upon internal transit are all based upon this ground, the absolute necessity of getting rid of "the intolerable cost of railway carriage," as they express it.

I must speak of one of the remaining fancies about water-carriage that so commonly prevails, viz. that it is quite unsuitable to the present state of things on account of the want of speed. In the first place,

this is a matter of extremely small importance in the great traffic of a country. In nine-tenths of the goods it is a matter of the smallest importance whether they take ten days or ten hours to go 500 miles. The sole question is the *cost* of carriage. Millions of tons are carried annually between Liverpool and Manchester by water, with animal power, and a great portion of these, far more valuable goods than the mass of the traffic of India. But further, what is to prevent speed on canals? The Clyde and the Hudson are worked at twenty miles an hour, and I know of no reason why they should not be worked at thirty or more if it were an object. All that is required is that the canals should be fitted for steam-power, with locks capable of being passed in two or three minutes.

And it must be remembered that in point of speed, in one respect, canals have a decided advantage over railways (as well as in several others), viz. that every vessel runs independently, and cannot obstruct others, or stop the communication, as is the case in railways, where most goods trains run fifty miles or so, and then lay up for twenty hours to leave the road clear for passenger trains.

Canals and rivers have also a great advantage over railways in the taking up and putting down not being confined to stations, as they are in India, ten or fifteen miles apart, which is an immense drawback.

And further, for military purposes there can be no comparison between the two, for in case of rebellion the railways could not possibly be defended, but they would be torn up in a hundred places the first day, while canals and rivers could be continually guarded and traversed by armed steamers.

It is essential that I should attempt to clear away some of the pre-vailing fancies about water-transit in dealing with this subject, as they are such as lead to a totally false judgment of its nature and importance.

So monstrously wrong are the notions of even professional men on this subject, that one has proposed to lay rails along the bank of the Godavery, an impracticable line, even at a cost twenty times what the opening of the river would cost, and which, when done, would totally fail to carry at a *cost* that would answer any practicable purpose, or one-tenth of the *quantities* that ought to be moved.

Another has actually proposed to lay rails along the embankment of a large irrigation canal, thus supplementing a work that would carry any quantity at any speed, and at an almost nominal cost, by another

that would cost three times as much, carry one-fiftieth of the quantity and at ten times the charge; so strange are the ideas that are still held by men who, one would suppose from their experience, must have acquired some real knowledge of what certain kinds of works can do and what they cannot do.

America, the country with which India has especially to contend, is now becoming thoroughly aware of what railways can do, and what they cannot do, and we *must* look into the matter thoroughly and learn as much of it as they have, or India will certainly be beaten in the race. And we have this immense advantage over them, that our water lines cannot be shut up for five months in the year by frost, but must be always navigable every day in the year.

I now proceed to notice the leading points in this particular project; and the first, as in all works of material improvement, is the cost—to be judged of by comparison, first, with the object to be attained, and second, with other means of accomplishing the same object.

I may premise that this project has now been under examination for twenty years, so that it is not a new, unconsidered work, and for the last five or six years officers have been actually employed, both in levelling, surveying, &c., and also in carrying on the works, so that we have now very ample data for estimating the cost and planning them.

The works for the first 450 miles of the Godavery and Wurdah, as far as Hingunghaut—that is, quite into the finest cotton country in India—have been estimated, some in detail and some roughly, at 600,000*l.* or 1,300*l.* a mile.¹ The railways in India, almost all single lines, quite incapable of accommodating one-tenth part of the required traffic, have cost on an average 20,000*l.* per mile, including accumulated interest, or 17,000*l.* without interest, and are carrying goods at from 1*d.* to 8*d.* a ton, and passengers from a farthing to 3½*d.* The cost of this work is therefore about one-twelfth of that of single railways, or to have opened a railway on this line would have cost at least nine millions, instead of 600,000*l.* for opening the river, even if it had been a line of only average difficulty. The works are being constructed for first-class steamers, and for boats of 400 or 500 tons, the locks being 30 feet by 200 feet; thus

¹ This, however, will not complete the navigation for the whole year; it is the cost of the works on the river itself. To complete the navigation will require stored water; but as this is required, and will be amply repaid in irrigation, it will be spoken of further on.

the line will be available for millions of tons per annum, and for any speeds, and the cost of carriage for long distances with boats of this size will be almost nominal.

On the canals and rivers in America, the charge for transit is from one-seventh to one-half of a penny per mile. In England, the actual cost of carriage by steam power with small vessels for short distances, and on canals quite unsuited for steam power, is one-tenth of a penny per mile, and with large vessels on longer lines and suitable canals it certainly would not exceed one-twentieth of a penny. The actual cost on the Godavery canal, for very short distances, and with the old native small boats, totally unsuited to canals, is from one-third to two-thirds of a penny. With large boats and long distances on canals, it certainly would not exceed one-twentieth of a penny, and on the river probably from one-fifth to one-tenth of a penny, especially as the whole line is through a forest country, where wood can be put on the banks at one rupee a ton, equivalent to five shillings a ton of coal, about one-sixth of the cost on the Ganges.

And on the Wurdah good coal has now been found close to the river. These prices of from one-fifth to one-tenth of a penny per mile will certainly meet the wants of the transit, making the cost from the centre about four to eight shillings a ton, which will not be severely felt even on goods of very small value. On rice, for instance, it would be only from 5 to 10 per cent. on the value of 4*l.* a ton, and on cotton, value 50*l.* a ton, under 1 per cent. and about one-twentieth to one-fortieth of a penny a pound.

Even firewood could be brought down 200 miles to the coast districts for two shillings, making the total cost only four shillings, equal to ten shillings a ton of coal. The cost of coal from the Wurdah would be only four or five shillings, in addition to the cost at the mine, perhaps eight or ten shillings a ton in all, or one-fourth of what it is now. And salt, which costs about five shillings a ton on the coast without duty, could be landed in Nagpore at ten or twelve shillings, if the tax were taken off, instead of 10*l.*, its present rate. The cost of carriage would thus completely and effectually meet the demands of the country, while a railway would totally fail to carry either at a price that would be of the least use, or anything like the quantities that would be required.

To show how insignificant this cost of the works, 1,300*l.* a mile, would be, compared with the traffic. The annual charge for interest and

repairs would be 100*l.* a mile, or a charge of only one-twentieth of a penny per head and per ton on 500,000 tons and passengers—suppose 250,000 tons per annum and 700 passengers a day.

Of the amount of traffic that would arise if this communication were completed, we must judge by comparing it with other lines somewhat similar in their circumstances. I may here advert to the extraordinary mistake so often made of attempting to judge of the traffic of such a cheap line from present traffic. *There is not the slightest connexion between these two things.* Traffic is entirely produced by cheapness of transit.

At the present cost, and with other disadvantages, no traffic of any consequence can possibly exist. We can only arrive at some real judgment of the future traffic by other cheap lines, and by the known consumption of some articles by a certain population.

The traffic on the Circular Canal at Calcutta was some years ago three million tons of boats entering and leaving per annum, perhaps four million tons of goods, and this is not the whole traffic of Calcutta. It is the traffic with probably fifty millions of people, and the transit is not so cheap on these unimproved rivers as it will be on the Godavery.

Judging from this, the traffic from twenty millions, there would be in proportion one and a half million tons, but the state of wealth and activity of these provinces will be much below those of the plains of the Ganges for some years to come.

On the other hand, there will be a great traffic on the Godavery in wood fuel, which does not come down the Ganges. Again, the consumption of salt is about 9 lbs. per head of population where it is cheap—at which rate twenty millions would consume about 90,000 tons. This agrees with the quantity leaving Madras by the railway, which is 45,000 tons for about ten millions. All this must go up the Godavery.

There can be no doubt from these items that the traffic on the river would soon be at least 200,000 or 300,000 tons, and as the country increased in wealth and activity, as it would do rapidly when thus laid open to the markets of the world, it would approach proportionally to that now arriving at and leaving Calcutta.

Besides which, there would be a very large passenger traffic.

On the canal in the Delta, passengers are carried at sixteen miles for a penny, or one-fifth of the ordinary railway charges; and they could certainly be carried at this rate up the river at good speeds.

The numbers of travellers in India is enormous, even on the railway

lines, where, owing to the high rate of fares by that mode, the great mass of travellers still go on foot. On this river the charge would be so small that the poorest would use it, for it would be cheaper than walking, and it would probably soon amount to 1,000 or 2,000 a day, when 400 or 500 miles are open.

To show the utter failure of railways to meet the wants of the country, I should here give an analysis of the work of the Madras railway lately published.

The cost of the part of this work (645 miles) now open is, including accumulated interest, 10,000,000*l.*, or nearly 16,000*l.* a mile; the net receipts for last year 420*l.* a mile, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; leaving a charge of a quarter of a million to be paid by taxes levied from the whole population. And, I may mention, nothing can show more strikingly the difference between public works suited to the wants and circumstances of the country and those that are not, than the fact that the irrigation and navigation works of Godavery, costing half a million, just yield the profit of a quarter of a million, which is lost by the expenditure of 10,000,000*l.* on railways in the same presidency.

The receipts for goods in 1866 were 260,000*l.* or 420*l.* per mile, and as the charges are from $1\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* to $4\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, if we take the average at $2\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* it will give the total quantity of goods conveyed on an average 40,000 tons a year over the whole line. And the receipts from passengers were 220,000*l.*, or 350*l.* a mile, and the fares are from $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* to 3*d.* Taking the average at a halfpenny, the number of passengers is 170,000 a year, or 470 a day.

The result, therefore, of this expenditure of ten millions and taxing the country a quarter of a million to pay the balance of interest, is the utterly ridiculous one of carrying 40,000 tons a year and 470 passengers a day on the two greatest lines of communication in the presidency—not one-tenth part of what the country requires, and that at the same, or higher prices than they paid before.

Compare this 40,000 tons with the millions carried by water in Bengal, or even with the 20,000 boats, carrying probably 150,000 tons, on the main canal in the Godavery delta, an out of the way part of the country, hundreds of miles from any great city.

I must be excused in thus comparing the actual results of land and water carriage, because it is impossible to take the first step in a right

consideration of this project of the opening of the Godavery without this fundamental point being in some measure understood.

On main lines affecting from ten to fifty millions of people in India, we want millions of passengers and millions of tons per annum to be carried, and while a means is used which can only carry at rates so destructive of traffic that only 40,000 tons are offered per annum, nothing is done.

If there were cheap carriage on the lines of these railways, the amount of traffic would certainly average 400,000 or 500,000 instead of 40,000, and the districts through which they pass would instantly show the effect of it by improvement in every way, while to this day no effect worth mentioning is shown. The way in which we are deluded in that matter is this: a Blue Book is published, stating what the railways are doing, but not a word is said of what they leave undone. Thus the book may not contain one false statement, and yet the whole may utterly mislead all who read it, as most assuredly the railway Reports do.

In the last Blue Book, it is said of this railway:—"Reviewing the progress of this work from its commencement, there is every reason for being satisfied with the steady development of the traffic, and its gradual improvement in every respect;" that is, that after sixteen years, and an expenditure of ten millions, it is causing a loss of a quarter of a million a year to be raised by taxes, and carrying 40,000 tons a year, and 470 passengers a day, at about the same cost as before, not one-tenth of the traffic that the country requires, and at ten times the charges—while steamboat canals could have been constructed in half the time at one quarter the cost, to carry all that the country could supply, at one-tenth of the rate of charges, and even at the same speed, with a surplus profit which might have been applied to the diminution of the taxes.

The cost of opening the Godavery will not be one-tenth of the cost of these railways, and when done, it will fully answer the wants of the country for many years to come.

I will now give a short description of the river and its obstructions, and the works prepared to overcome them. From the Port of Coringa, a harbour always safe and always accessible, in which a vessel has never been lost (though with the drawback at present of the vessels having to lie two or three miles from the town, which, however, could be remedied), from this port a canal has been cut, with locks of 100 ft. by 15 ft., capable of passing boats of 100 tons, to the main Godavery above the

weir that has been built to throw the water into the canals for irrigation. From this point the weir (which is $16\frac{1}{2}$ ft. including movable planks) raises the water to within a foot or two of a dead level as far as the entrance of the hills, distant twenty-five miles. The pass through the hills, thirty miles in length, is on a dead level also during the dry season, the fall in the monsoon being given by the river rising 70 ft. within the hills, and only 40 ft. on the coast side, so that there is then a slope of 1 ft. a mile.

This passage through the hills is a most striking fact. When I first visited the entrance of it, I thought there must certainly be great obstructions in this part of the river, and that it was probably altogether impracticable for navigation. This is one of many lessons I have had in engineering, not to be frightened at imaginary difficulties.

There is indeed a strong current through the pass when the river is in high flood, but I have run up it in a steamer of only seven or eight miles' speed, when the river was at a considerable height, and the number of days in a series of years when the river is nearly full is very few indeed, probably not more than two or three on an average.

There are also in three places heavy whirlpools in high floods, but there is plenty of room to pass them. In one place there are smaller whirls extending all across, but steamers have often passed through them.

This pass is one of the finest sights in the world. For five miles the river (which is four miles broad at the head of the Delta), is only 300 yards wide, with the mountains rising immediately from the water on both sides, to the height of 2,500 feet, the slopes being only just sufficiently moderate to allow of their being clothed with large timber from the water to the top.

I have measured the depth of the river in one place, where one of the heavy whirls is, in the monsoon, and it was 130 feet deep in the dry season, or 200 feet when the river is full.

From the hills the river has an average fall of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. for sixty miles to the foot of what is called the first barrier. This part is all fair navigation (though not without isolated rocks), when there is a considerable body of water in the river—that is, for six or seven months.

At the end of the dry season, when there is only a stream of about 300,000 cubic yards of water per hour, the depth in some places is reduced to a few inches, but it is capable of being improved by temporary

works in the bed, as is done in the Ganges, and one place has been improved by a permanent work of stone. The proper remedy for this, however, seems to be the storing of water in the upper part of the basin, so as to increase the stream in the dry season. I must revert to this hereafter.

The first barrier consists of a mass of rock extending across the river, which is here 2,000 yards broad. This rock extends four or five miles, and there is a difference of level above and below it of about thirty-five feet in the dry season. In the monsoon the fall is so moderate that steamers of eight or nine miles' speed can pass over it, and there are many in the upper parts of the river which have thus passed this obstruction.

Below the barrier, for several miles, there are numerous rocks, which are dangerous, though for several years steamers have constantly passed up and down. The works for overcoming this obstruction are a weir of masonry across the river on the upper side of the barrier, with a canal leading from it along the left bank. To carry the navigation past the rocky part below the barrier, this canal has been prolonged to twenty-six miles, below which the navigation is very free from rocks. This canal is carried on one level, and has a lock at the head with very high gates to keep out the floods. This lock is in operation. It is 200 ft. by 30 ft., so as to be capable of passing very large steamers. The first two miles of the canal have been completed, so that when the river is pretty high, and the water stands back in it to the head lock, steamers can now pass round the barrier, and some have thus passed this year.

The remainder of the canal has been in hand for several years, but is not yet opened. There will be locks with a total lift of seventy feet at the end, to drop the vessels down to the dry season level of the river at that point. These are not yet executed. In the meantime, a lock is to be constructed at the end of the first two miles, and the rocks in the bed of the river between this and the end of the canal will be cleared so as to improve the navigation by that time.

From the first to the second barrier is seventy miles, with a moderate fall of a little more than a foot a mile, and there are very few rocks in this length, except at one place, where they can be removed at a small cost. In this part also there are only a few inches of water in the dry season, and the same means must be used to extend the navigation throughout the year, as below the first barrier.

The works at this second barrier, which are of the same character as the first, will be similar to those at that place, but they have only been lately begun.

Between this barrier and the third, the line enters the Wurdah or Pyanheeta, as it is there called, at the new cantonment of Seroncha, which is there beautifully situated on a rising ground between the two rivers.

The third barrier commences about ninety miles from the second, and consists of a rocky bed extending for forty miles, with a total fall of 140 ft., or $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. per mile on an average.

It is proposed to pass this by the same means as in the others, but the weir will be a much smaller work, as the Wurdah is only 500 yards broad. The canal will be thirty-six miles long, through a tract of country without any serious obstacles.

This work has not yet been sanctioned, but it has been surveyed, and detailed estimates are preparing. In the meantime, an examination is being made of the river, to see whether some improvement cannot be made in it at a moderate cost, so as to make the navigation practicable while the complete work is in progress. One steamer was taken over this barrier, though with great difficulty, but it was a vessel of very small power.

The Wurdah above this barrier has only a few feet of fall in thirty miles, and a very slight fall above that for about seventy miles more to the mouth of the Wunna near Hingunghaut. This place is one of the cotton marts, and is in the midst of the country which produces the finest cotton in India.¹

The Wurdah is a much smaller river than the Godavery, and having so small a fall up to this point, it will require a very small quantity of stored water to keep it navigable. The supply of water, however, in this river is very irregular, even in the monsoon, so that in its present state it is not constantly available during the four monsoon months.

I should now give some particulars respecting the storing of water in connexion with this work of improving river navigation.

I have said that the Godavery in the Delta country contains about 300,000 cubic yards per hour at the end of the dry season, that is, in the

¹ So highly is this cotton valued that the Cotton Committee have been distributing thousands of tons of seed from hence over other districts, and report a remarkable increase of value in the produce in consequence.

month of June. With $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of cubic yards the river is, or can easily be kept, navigable for large steamers, and there is not less than that quantity till towards the end of December. To keep up this quantity would require an average addition of about 750,000 cubic yards per hour for the six months, or about 3,000 millions in all. We estimate that water can be stored, at present prices for labour, at about 100*l.* per million cubic yards, so that to store that quantity would cost 300,000*l.* This would of course be stored in large tanks scattered over the upper basin of the river, in many different affluents, so that in leading the water to the main river, several branches would also be kept navigable. Thus, besides the main line to Hingunghaut, 450 miles, at least as much more would be improved, or fully 1,000 miles, making the cost of this improvement 300*l.* a mile; quite an insignificant sum.

But it is evident that this water would not only improve the navigation of the rivers.

First, after having done its duty in this way, it would all be available for irrigation in the Delta, where it is wanted in the dry season, and where it would be worth to the Government, at the present price paid there, viz. 15,000 cubic yards per *l.* (4 rupees per 6,000 cubic yards, or for a crop of rice on an acre), 200,000*l.* a year, or 70 per cent. upon its cost, but allowing largely for waste from its not being all sold, 50 per cent.

Secondly, the retention of the water in tanks would have an effect of great importance in diminishing the floods in the low country, which alone would be so great a benefit as abundantly to justify such an expenditure. We shall have now in the Delta a great system of works that have cost half a million, and a crop dependent upon them of the value of 4*l.* an acre, on a million acres, or four millions sterling, so that the diminishing of the risk there from excessive floods is a matter of very great importance, and an expenditure of 300,000*l.* for this purpose alone a comparatively small outlay.

Having thus established this main trunk line of works into the very heart of the country, it should of course be followed up by the following extensions:—

1st. By the improvement of the Wein Gunga river to Nagpoor and the Nerbudda, and 400 miles down that river, which are known to be easily improvable. The line between the valley of the Wein Gunga and

the Nerbudda, a short distance of only twenty or thirty miles, has not yet been examined, but I have reason to think it quite practicable.

2d. Westward of the Wurdah and across the water-shed to the Poorna, and down that river and the Taptee, to the west coast at Surat. This is an extremely important line, connecting the east and west coasts, allowing of the produce to be taken to the ports on either the east or west, and, in a military point of view, allowing of troops being thrown into the central provinces from almost any part of India. This line has been ascertained to be perfectly practicable, at about one-eighth of the cost of a railway.

3d. The improvement of the main Godavery up to the Western Ghauts, 500 miles, which also I have reason to believe is practicable, though it has not been examined throughout by an engineer with this view.

4th. The connexion of the Godavery valley with that of the Kistnah by a canal passing the city of Hyderabad, to join the Irrigation Company's Canal extending from Kurnool to Madras, and ultimately to the westward to the new port of Carwar on the west coast.

By these lines, in all about 2,500 miles, which we have good data for supposing could not cost above 3,000*l.* per mile on an average at the very utmost, or one-seventh of what railways would cost, the whole of this vast tract hitherto shut off from all communication worth mentioning, would be completely thrown open to markets in all directions, and certainly at least a hundred times as much benefit would be obtained as would be provided by the same sum spent on 300 miles of railway.

I must now earnestly recommend this subject for the consideration of those interested in India.

Nothing can exceed the strange misapprehension of this subject of steamboat communication to the interior by rivers and canals.

I have a paper written by one of the great names in the present government of India, and no doubt a man of talent, and it is impossible that any paper could show a more profound misapprehension of the subject of transit. It speaks of the opening of a grand main line of really cheap and effective transit, penetrating into the very heart of the country, as if it were a question of the wildest speculation whether it would be made use of extensively, the very thing which, as in the case of the Mississippi, the Erie Canal, and the St. Lawrence makes the

great mass of the Western United States and the Canadas what they are, and without which they would be completely paralysed ; for the cost of land carriage would render the whole produce of those vast tracts totally valueless.

How are we to account for the fact that men can perfectly comprehend the wisdom of laying single lines of railway, to carry fifty or a hundred thousand tons a year, and a few hundred passengers a day, at almost the former prices, and to pay for this upwards of a hundred millions of money, taxing the whole country, even tracts that are hundreds of miles distant from the railways, and which receive no benefit from them of any kind ; lowering our prestige terribly by intolerable duties on one of the great necessities of life, salt, &c., to pay the interest, and when it is proposed to make a really effective communication at a cost of one-fifteenth of that of a single railway, which can carry any number of tons and passengers at practicable rates, which will not involve the least possibility of requiring taxes to pay its interest, which can also be connected with irrigation, &c., that these very men should speak of such a work as one of which no one could possibly judge of the results.

One of the papers on this subject supposes that after many years 24,000 tons a year might be carried by the line, but that this great traffic could not be expected at once.

The salt alone, as I have before said, taken from Madras for about ten millions of people, is 45,000 tons, agreeing with the ascertained consumption of about 9 lbs. a head, so that the salt alone for the twenty millions in the central tract would be 90,000 tons a year, besides firewood, coal, and the produce in oil-seeds, cotton, &c., downwards, and rice, &c., and all foreign articles upwards. The main canal in the Delta, affecting about two millions of people, carries about 150,000 tons, and probably 100,000 passengers at least a year, and this line, affecting ten times the number, is to carry after many years 24,000 tons, and no passengers at all. In judging of such matters, are we to throw away all data and all experience, and to guess anything we choose, without a shadow of ground for our fancies ? Every water communication in India is carrying from 100,000 or 200,000 tons a year to several millions, but this great main line must be expected to carry the merest trifle. I cannot be surprised at all this ; it was exactly in the same way that the Godavery Irrigation was spoken of : as if to supply water which is proved to be worth one rupee per 300 cubic yards, at a cost

of one rupee per 10,000 or 12,000 cubic yards, or at one-thirtieth the value, was a wild speculation; and now that the water has actually been supplied at a total cost of 12s. an acre, and the Government are gladly paid 8s. a year in water rate, or 66 per cent., there is the same grave doubt about whether irrigation is advisable. And those who judge from facts and actual results are looked upon as wild speculators; while those who sit and guess without giving a single fact or calculation or any ground for their conclusions whatever, are accounted prudent and sound men.

In the paper to which I have already referred, not a single instance is mentioned of the traffic which has actually resulted from opening a water line. What are we to think of opinions which are unsupported by a single fact or result? Is it not wonderful that in our day men should draw conclusions without a single reference to any experience whatever, just as if there was not a line of cheap transit in the world to help us in forming our judgments?

In one place in this paper the writer says:—"After a careful estimate of the actual trade and revenue of the central provinces," and so on; and then proceeds to conclude, "that no return must be expected for a quarter of a century" from opening the Godavery. Now, suppose we were to take up a paper on military projectiles, and find it begin thus:—"After a careful estimate of the actual loss we sustained in such a war with savages from their bows and arrows, we cannot but conclude that the Snider Rifle or the Chassepot will not kill one in a thousand." What should we think of it? This is precisely a similar case. After a careful estimate of the traffic in a country, where for want of communication traffic cannot exist, we conclude that when communications are opened, making it practicable to move almost anything, from the lowness of expense, no traffic will spring up. Fifty years ago this was exactly the style of writing on this subject. An engineer proposed to make cart-roads in the Delta of Tanjore. The collector ascertained that there was not a cart in the district, and prudently and wisely concluded that where there were no carts and no traffic, cart-roads must be the wildest speculation, which only thoughtless men could possibly propose. Somehow this argument did not prevail, and a beginning was made, and it was discovered that as soon as it was possible for carts and traffic to exist, the district was full of both, and very soon even that common road was so covered with goods and passengers that it was extremely

difficult to make one's way through the throng, as I have often experienced. Again, there are, or rather were, two or three years ago, 20,000 boats a year, besides rafts, on the Godavery Delta canal. What was the traffic on that line before the canal was opened?—perhaps one-fiftieth part of the present.

Is it anything less than wonderful that men should be now writing in a way on this subject that was astonishing enough fifty years ago, and which is in utter contempt of the actual results of every kind of improved communication that has been opened in every country of the world?

It is indeed up-hill work to have thus to answer again such fancies as are not only palpably contrary to the simplest common sense, but have been disproved by facts ten thousand times.

I must say, that of all the wild and baseless speculations I ever read, this paper that I refer to, on the Godavery navigation, is about the wildest and most baseless.

And as it is written without reference to a single fact, so it is equally unsound in respect of imaginary things. One of these is thus expressed:—"Now, if Government is prepared to spend from three to five or six millions on the Godavery and Wein Gunga Works," &c. Now, first, this is pure invention. The writer does not give the slightest ground for it, nor is there any. The estimate for the present proposed works is 600,000*l.*, and it is made after the best possible data have been obtained, viz. the data furnished by several years' actual work on the river, during which one of the great weirs has been brought into operation, and the other works at the first barrier are considerably advanced.

But what are we to think of official documents written in this wild tone, in which suppositions are given without stating anything to show that they have a foundation?

But, secondly, suppose even that the 450 miles cost six millions, or 13,000*l.* a mile instead of 1,300*l.*, the actual estimate, does it not still remain to be shown by the writer whether such a communication is worth that sum or not? Single railways are being executed at a cost of 20,000*l.* a mile, to carry one-tenth of the required traffic, at the common road prices. But to open a really effective communication at the cost of two-thirds of that sum is represented by the writer as unworthy of examination.

Nothing could show more clearly the immense value of this institution than this very case. Such wild papers as the above document are placed on record, and because they are written by one holding high office, they are read under so blind a bias, that they probably are not sifted at all, and no one has an opportunity of exposing their patent fallacies. But here an opportunity is given for any man of real and solid experience in the matter in question, to state the result of his experience, and thus to lead to some real examination of it.

The great points in this project are these :

1st. After several years of actual work on the spot, and considerable progress in the improvements, estimates were given for opening 450 miles of navigation from the safest and most accessible port in India, to a population of about 20,000,000, hitherto entirely shut out from foreign trade of any consequence ; and to a tract producing the finest cotton in India, a cotton at least equal to the American, and also containing good coal, timber, and a variety of other products, and requiring 90,000 tons of salt, besides rice and other things, that can only be obtained from the coast.

2d. The cost of this is estimated at 1,300*l.* a mile, one-fifteenth of the cost of a single railway.

3d. When opened, it will convey any amount of traffic at any required speed, and at a cost of one-tenth to one-twentieth of the cost of that of the railways.

4th. The traffic in other water lines, both in India and in all other countries, even in England (notwithstanding the insignificance of its distances), is enormous, varying from 200,000 or 300,000 tons a year, to 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 ; the traffic in that very river basin being at this moment probably 150,000 tons on a short canal affecting only one-tenth of the population of the upper tract—the item of salt alone for 20,000,000 of people being 90,000 tons a year.

5th. The tolls from a very small part of the traffic which may thus, from actual data, be confidently calculated upon, would pay the interest and cost of management of the works ; so that this vast benefit will be obtained without any real cost to the State. Indeed, if such a thing were considered advisable, it would, like the New York canals, pay a large revenue to the State, and allow of so much being taken off the taxes.

6th. In constructing this main trunk, we lay a foundation for a complete system of such really effective communications to open this

fertile tract in all directions, north, south, east and west, at a cost which is really utterly trifling—about one-tenth of the cost of a single railway.

7th. Passengers are carried in immense numbers on the little canals, at one-sixteenth of a penny per mile, one-fifth of that by railway, and they would, therefore, certainly be conveyed in far greater numbers at about this rate by these communications, a rate which really meets the wants of the country, which the railway rates do not, for they leave the great mass of the travellers to go just as they did before.

8th. The works at the first barrier are well advanced, and partially in operation, and it is expected that they will be effectively so next monsoon. At the second barrier they are now fully taken in hand. At the third barrier, used for storing water, they are now under examination for detailed estimates.

9th. Steamers have been running for several years on the different parts of the river, and several new ones have now been sent out, calculated to run ten or twelve miles an hour on one yard of draft, which will be of immense use while the improvements are going on.

These are the essential points of the case. I may add, that the works are under the charge of an officer who was under my orders for several years, and whom I consider one of the most talented, energetic, and sound judging engineers that India ever had.

I have already referred to one of the extraordinary papers written on this subject. I must also refer to another. It is evident that there are three subjects specially included in this matter:—1st. The general question of transit. 2d. That of the improvement of large rivers of this character. 3d. That of river-steamers. Two gentlemen were lately appointed to report upon these works, and neither of them had one atom of experience, or even theoretic knowledge, on any one of these three points. I may ask what could possibly be the value of their report? In England, the usual thing seems to be, when any great engineering work is under question, whether a building, a bridge, a harbour, or anything else, to call in some men of intrinsic practical experience in that particular line; why in India things should be turned bottom upwards, and men should be selected for a particular duty who have not one practical or even theoretic notion of the points involved in it, is to me incomprehensible. But we cannot be surprised while this is done, if the government are fatally misled in these questions.

I beg to offer this subject for the consideration of the Association as one involving in it, not only the local interests of 20,000,000 of people, and in an eminent degree the cotton question, but as also bearing in the most direct manner possible upon the general question of giving to India really effective and cheap transit, without endangering our prestige by oppressive taxes, and combined, at the same time, with irrigation, the only thing that can possibly enable India to compete with other nations, to escape from famine, and to enjoy, under the rule of us, to whom it has pleased God to subject them, at all events, the material advantages of wealth and plenty.

Mr. TAYLER.—It has very truly been said that one man's meat is another man's poison. If I were a director of a railway, or even a large shareholder, I should feel extremely uncomfortable after hearing the very able paper which Sir Arthur Cotton has read. I confess myself to be utterly unable to follow completely the elaborate details which Sir Arthur Cotton has placed before us, and I suspect very few of us would not confess the same inability; but it so happens, though quite unprepared for the particular circumstances which have been laid before us, I can from my own personal experience testify to the extreme accuracy of the general statement which has been made of the advantage of water carriage over land carriage, even when that land carriage has all the advantages of the most improved railways. I happen myself to know, and I am indeed personally connected with, a commission agency established in one of the districts of Behar, on the very banks of the Ganges, and a vast quantity of the country produce—rice, linseed, rapeseed, and all those products so extensively exported both to England and America—passes through that agency by the old country boats. That agency has stone and waterproof go-downs on the very banks of the Ganges, where steamers come and land, and within 300 yards of which the Great East India Railway passes. A very enormous quantity of country produce passes backwards and forwards by those boats, and in spite of the railway, in spite even of the river steamers, there has been no sensible diminution within the last ten years in the number of the country boats passing backwards and forwards. A great mass of produce still goes by those old country boats down to Calcutta, those boats being exposed to all the vicissitudes of the climate, to all the difficulties of the navigation, to shipwreck and disasters of every description, to loss of time, and every conceivable disadvantage. It struck me as a wonderful thing that, in spite of all the advantages offered by the construction of steamers, as well as by railways, the great mass of the produce of the country still goes in those old shaky boats, which go down one in ten in every year. That fact, which has come within my own knowledge, I merely bring forward as one small item of testimony to the soundness of Sir Arthur Cotton's principles. With regard to what I may call the gigantic scheme of opening up these great rivers, I do not suppose there can be among any men who choose to give much attention to the subject, a single doubt or question that in truth water

communication offers a much safer, a much cheaper, and a much more advantageous means of communication, both for passengers and traffic, than any railway that can possibly be constructed in such a vast country as India, where the villages and towns are scattered at a great distance from one another, and where the means of communication hitherto have been so imperfect. Sir Arthur Cotton adverted to a case in which, previously to the formation of cart-roads, no carts were in existence; but the moment cart-roads were made, carts and other conveyances sprang up as if by magic. I remember I was in India myself when the project of introducing railways was agitated, and at that time there was not a single statesman, and there was but one paper in the whole of India that did not say that railways would be a dead failure; there was hardly a single man who did not say that Hindoos would not travel by railway, that a Brahmin would never sit with a Soodra, and that if you wanted Indians to travel you must have a separate carriage for every separate caste; but the railways had not been opened six months before the carriages were crammed with every description of passengers. The fact is, we argue from the wrong end when we say that, because such and such people do not travel, or do not have carts or carriages, therefore, when a railway or a road is made, they will not travel by the railway or put carts and carriages upon the road. But, gentleman, there is one other great question connected with the interesting subject now placed before us, and that is the question of irrigation. I believe there is no single word in the whole of the English language which in the short limits of its few letters comprises such good things for India as the word "irrigation." That the attention of our statesmen has lately been attracted to the subject is an undoubted fact; but why? It has been from pressure from outside. There has been a great jealousy upon that subject through the whole official class of India; why, it is difficult to say. That irrigation has succeeded in Madras, where the principles and the science of Sir Arthur Cotton have prevailed, is an undoubted fact. That we have had one great canal in Bengal is an undoubted fact. That the success of the one is beyond all question no one will dispute; that the success of the other is questionable perhaps may be admitted. Beyond all doubt the great water-works, the great artificial utilisation of the water in the Madras Presidency, has been of vast and incalculable benefit to millions of the cultivators; and there can be no question that if that system had prevailed in Orissa, 600,000 of our fellow-subjects would have been saved from death. In Bengal the work has not been attended with the same success. I expected, when I heard Sir Arthur Cotton was going to read a paper in which the great subject of irrigation would be introduced, that we should have had a much more numerous assembly than we have to-night. That subject is so vast, so important, and so intimately connected with the material prosperity and welfare of India, that I think we should on some future occasion, I hope not a far distant one, have the opportunity of fully discussing it in all its bearings. During the whole period of our rule in India, those waters have been rolling down in silent majesty, calling upon us to utilise them for the benefit of our fellow-creatures, and we have never done so except upon a small and partial scale. Passing over that subject for a future occasion, I would just confine the few remarks I make to this present paper of Sir Arthur Cotton's. I think Sir Arthur Cotton's criticism rather severe upon the Government officials, but I think at the same time nine-tenths of it is just. It appears

to me from the long experience I have had, and the particular connexion I have had with the subject of irrigation lately, having taken it up as a matter of general interest, that we never do succeed in India, when any great question is mooted, in gaining at first the best opinions; it is difficult to say why. But it is a legitimate part of the duty of this Association, when any great subject, in which the interests of India are concerned, is started, to endeavour to obtain the most sound, the most scientific, and the most rational views of the best qualified persons, and not to be content with the opinion of a man, because he happens to sit in office, who knows nothing about the matter, and who entertains the absurd and ridiculous fancies which have been so ably exposed by Sir Arthur Cotton. With regard to the present question, I am not aware exactly in what position it stands, whether it is now opposed by the officials of the Government, whether it is going on, or whether it is starving from want of encouragement.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON—It is going on to a certain extent, but it is entirely against the will of the Governor-General and the Government of India. It has been pressed upon them by the home authorities.

MR. TAYLER—The question brought before us seems to me an extremely important question for us to consider. If the paper Sir Arthur Cotton has read were placed at our disposal, by being printed, or in any other way, and if we, as members of this Association, made ourselves masters of the subject, and could really and conscientiously coincide with the opinions he has stated, and come to the conclusion that water communication is the thing required for India, that many millions in India would benefit by it, that produce and passengers could be carried by it at a much smaller expense and with much greater comfort and facility than by railways; and if, having come to that conclusion, we pressed it upon the authorities with the utmost influence of the Society, I know of no matter more suited to our particular province. It is a very difficult subject, no doubt, and would require a little study. From what I know of Sir Arthur Cotton, and from what I have read of his most able papers and disquisitions upon the subject, I feel myself nine-tenths convinced that his statements are true. If so, the importance of the subject can scarcely be exaggerated. If these startling disclosures which he has made be true about the extraordinary difference in expense, comfort, and certainty, what conceivable subject can be more important to India at this moment? What can be of more advantage to India than to open up her great resources—coal among other things—to give her at the same time the blessings of irrigation, to secure her from scarcity and drought, and also from inundation (for it seems a double purpose is served by these artificial waterworks; they save you from drought and they save you from inundation—the two curses of India)! When we remember that the great majority of the millions of India are now deriving their subsistence from small patches of land, that those patches of land are subjected to all the vicissitudes of the climate, and that it is dependent upon such caprices of nature whether those millions have a full stomach or whether themselves and their families are starved, what can be more important to the welfare of the whole country than that the crops of those little patches of land should be secured to them by a certain and regular supply of water? It is utterly impossible that any one other thing in the whole of the resources of science can be of greater importance to India than that one

question of irrigation. The paper which has now been read, though to a very thin house, is one of those which is of the deepest importance to the welfare of India, and if this Association really has the interest and benefit of India at heart there is no one subject which we can with greater advantage take up and follow to its legitimate results, than this question of water communication from one side of India to the other.

MR. CHISHOLM ANSTHY—I entirely agree with Mr. Tayler that this admirable paper is one which ought not to be disposed of thus. It may be, and probably is, owing to the state of the weather—I cannot believe that it is owing to any general indifference on the part of the members of this Association—that this paper has been wasted upon a meeting which but for the tardy arrival of the gentleman on my right would have consisted of the inauspicious number of 13. With the leave of the meeting I shall conclude with a motion. It will not be the usual and formal motion, though no paper which I have ever heard in my life better deserved it, of a vote of thanks to Sir Arthur Cotton, because that would be equivalent to disposing of the paper for the present time, and leaving it to chance whether the question shall ever be re-opened again during the present session of the Society. But I do think that this paper deserves to be read, marked, and inwardly digested by all who have, or profess to have, the welfare of India at heart; and I do think that it is the duty of those who take an interest in India to be here, in the only assembly now extant, I believe, in London which contains anything like a representation of the wants and wishes of all classes of our Indian fellow-subjects, and to discuss papers of this kind when a gentleman of great talent, industry, and honour condescends to bestow his abilities and his experience upon the elucidation of such a subject. It is only by discussion that the truth is arrived at, and if it be true, as I in common with Mr. Tayler have reason to believe, that there are dissentients out of doors who, either for no reason at all or for reasons that they believe to be good, oppose themselves to this great and humane and wise work in which Sir Arthur Cotton has been so long engaged, I think it is only fair that those gentlemen should attend here, or, if they do not like the situation, that they should choose some other situation, and make their objections, and state the reasons on which those objections are founded, so that those objections and reasons might be made as public as the paper which Sir Arthur Cotton has read. The motion which I intend to make, and which it only occurred to me a few minutes ago to make, is that this discussion be adjourned to some other night. It will be, of course, for the Society to fix when that night shall be; but my motion is simply that the discussion be adjourned, leaving it for some other gentleman afterwards to move that it be adjourned to a certain night. It is not fair to Sir Arthur Cotton that a paper of this kind should not be fully and largely discussed. Gentlemen are absent who I know wish well to India, and who show their good intentions towards India much in the same way as Sir Arthur Cotton is doing in his own sphere. I may mention Sir Bartle Frere. I know perfectly well Sir Bartle Frere has for years had his attention turned to the subject, but owing to the opposition which has been hinted at, not exactly stated, but sufficiently glanced at to make it perfectly well understood (opposition not from the west of India, nor from the south of India, nor from the north of India, there remaining only one quarter of India from which it could come), his

endeavours have utterly failed. I have heard Sir Bartle Frere himself state, with respect to Scinde, that if the waters which fall away on the wrong side, and are utterly wasted and lost, were only dammed up and husbanded, the whole desert of Scinde might be brought into cultivation without drawing a drop of water from the Indus. We have not done that simply because the revenues of India, instead of being disseminated and distributed all over the country, are gathered into one treasury, and I will not say are wasted but are certainly expended upon matters which the people of India have not at heart. It would be very desirable that, as there is a proportion in which the presidencies are assessed to the revenue of the country, so there should be some proportion in which the presidencies should have a share in the sum total obtained by those means. That re-distribution has not yet been arrived at: till it is, laudable and wise endeavours like those of Sir Arthur Cotton will either fail, or, if they succeed, they will only succeed after long years of painful and patient expectation. Are we free in this matter? Are we not bound to take action by the considerations already suggested to us, and this other consideration, that, where wrong has been done or suffered to be done, reparation is due? Take only one portion of the territory which we have traversed to-night under the guidance of Sir Arthur Cotton—take the Carnatic: where are the 30,000—there were more, but take the smallest number—where are the 30,000 wells and tanks which covered the face of that region with smiling green fields ages ago? Why, they have disappeared in the course of the ravages of conquest. I do not say that the fault is entirely due to ourselves, for that would be to assert an untruth, but our neglect completed the ruin which the ravages of the conquerors who preceded us brought upon that district. You remember that every one of those wells was a public work—it was an endowment due to the piety and humanity of wealthy natives, and cost the country nothing. Where are all the other great works of navigation and irrigation—irrigation principally—which India had long ago when India was wealthy? It has been the misfortune of that land to be scourged by conquest, and by the administrations which conquest has brought in its train. We have done much for India, and we are not chargeable with all the misery which India has sustained at the hands of her conquerors; but of the conquerors we are the last, and we have had a certain share in the promotion of the evils the existence of which we deplore. I say we are bound to make reparation for wrong done, or for what is much the same thing, for disregard and neglect of our duty. We are bound to do all that in us lies at this moment to make that reparation in the most effectual way, namely, by enabling the natives of the soil to live upon the soil, instead of dying by thousands and hundreds of thousands upon it. Here is a method pointed out. It is said that if this method be adopted it will fail so far as the internal traffic of the country is concerned; but, having occupied more than the ten minutes which is allowed to each speaker, I beg to move that the present discussion be postponed until a larger attendance of members can be secured.

Mr. Gordon—I rise to second the motion which has just been made by Mr. Chisholm Anstey, and I do it upon still higher grounds than that on which the motion has been supported by him. It was supported by him on the ground of justice to Sir Arthur Cotton, on which ground, no doubt, there should be an adjournment of the discussion; but I beg for an adjournment on the still higher grounds of justice to

India and justice to this Association. The subject which has now been brought before us is, perhaps, the most important physical subject that could be discussed for the welfare and progress of India. I think Mr. Tayler, in commencing his eloquent speech, remarked that were he a railway proprietor he should shake in his shoes. But railways and railway proprietors are perfectly safe; there is ample support for all the railways that have yet been made; but it is impossible for railways to give to India the cheap and general accommodation for the traffic which is required to develop the resources of that great and rich and magnificent country. I have seen most parts of the globe, and I have seen none yet which offers such great facilities for water carriage as India does. I have heard with extreme pleasure the very able paper which has just been read to us. Though the question of accommodating the traffic of India has been my study for many years, I was not prepared to hear that by water carriage goods could be carried so cheaply at thirty miles an hour; but I was quite prepared to hear all the advantages attaching to water carriage which Sir Arthur Cotton has pointed out. In seconding the motion to postpone this discussion, I may say that I hope that other means of communication may be brought forward in connexion with water carriage, by roads, &c. because, if you have canals, you must have communications to them; and in many cases I have found that even a distance of ten miles, where there were no roads, prevented traffic being taken to a canal or a railway. I think it would be well, if this paper is to be printed, that it should be printed and circulated before the general discussion takes place—the question being one requiring some time to consider. I can bear out all that has been said of the difficulty of getting officials in India to entertain new subjects. Railways have been the fashion for some little time, and therefore everything else has been neglected, and it can only be by pressure from the exterior that they will be brought to give that attention to the subject of water communication which it deserves. I can only account for their indifference to the subject in one way: there is a very proper and a very good rule which prevents all those connected with the services in India having any interest in the soil. If their pockets were so deeply interested as those of the gentlemen whose lands would be benefited, you would find that they would not require that pressure from without in order to develop the resources of the country, and to bring the land and other things to a proper state of development, so as to return a handsome profit to the proprietor. I beg to second the motion of Mr. Anstey.

The CHAIRMAN asked Sir Arthur Cotton if he would prefer that the adjourned discussion should take place after the publication of the next number of the journal, in February, containing his paper and the discussion upon it.

Sir ARTHUR CORROX—I do not think it would be of any real use to have the discussion except when Parliament is sitting. There would be so few people in town between the adjournment of the House and its reassembling in February, that the discussion had better be postponed till after that time. In the Society of Arts, when any subject which they consider of great importance is brought forward, they have an adjourned meeting, after a sufficient time has elapsed to enable members to consider the subject, so as to come prepared for a full discussion. My difficulty always has been to get a discussion. Some man in office is to say this and that as an oracle,

and no one is to discuss it—it is not considered courteous for one councillor to say “I doubt every word you say” to his fellow councillor. That is the real mischief. This paper, drawn up by the Government official to whom I have referred, is the oracle in Calcutta—nobody must question a single word of it, though it says the most absurd things ever put on paper. What we want, and what this Association enables us to have, is a real discussion of the subject. Let us have that discussion, and let those who differ from us state why they so differ.

MR. KINNAIRD—Perhaps I may be allowed to say one word on what has fallen in the course of the discussion. Allusion has been made to Sir Bartle Frere, and I greatly regret that he is not here this evening to give the Association his views on the subject. The best proof that I am interested in this question is the fact that I have a large capital embarked in the East India Irrigation Company, with respect to which company a question has been asked in the House to-day. £1,000,000 has been spent by gentlemen like myself in forming that company, and at this moment the Government are in the act of trying to purchase us up. Though I am suffering from their view of the matter, I do not think it fair to say that the Governor-General and the Council do not take an interest in the question; they only differ with us as to the mode in which the works should be carried out. I believe the Governor-General and the Council are at this moment pressing to the greatest possible extent the carrying out of a great system of irrigation, but they do not want it done by private enterprise. In accordance with their theory that the land of India is the property of the Government, they say irrigation works had better be carried out by the Government. I may be wrong, but I have reason to believe that there is a very vast scheme of irrigation in preparation, a part of that scheme being to purchase us up, and, from what I can gather, the plan of Colonel Strachey, who is at the head of that department, is to undertake great works by raising large loans. I do not think it is right to say that Sir John Lawrence is opposed to the execution of irrigation works, because, from the day he became Governor-General of India, he has not ceased to impress upon the Council here the importance of undertaking such works. Therefore I feel we should not abuse the Governor-General, because he has taken a great interest in the matter, although he entertains a contrary view to ours as to the machinery by which the works should be carried out. While we think that such works are best carried out by private enterprise, he thinks they are carried out better and more rapidly by Government officers.

THE CHAIRMAN—I hope you will not allow Sir Arthur Cotton to leave without tendering him our very hearty thanks for the admirable paper which he has read, and which I hope before long will appear in print, and obtain that circulation which it so richly deserves among those who can really do justice to the important subject on which it treats.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI—With respect to what fell from Mr. Tayler at the commencement of his observations, I understand Sir Arthur Cotton not to object to railways, but to be of opinion that there is room both for railways and for water transit. The railway does its work where the traffic will bear the higher rate, and the water communication does its work where the traffic is required to be carried at a cheaper rate, which applies to the principal part of the traffic of India.

Mr. TATLER—I will merely add a few words to what Mr. Kinnaird has said about the Governor-General, because I happened at Simla to have been in direct communication with the Governor-General upon this very subject, which I had taken up in a newspaper, the *Pioneer*, which I had lately established. What Mr. Kinnaird says is perfectly true. Sir John Lawrence was deeply interested in the general subject, but he, in common with almost all the Government officials, thought the Government would manage it better than a private company. I differed with him, and told him I should oppose his view of the matter in the *Pioneer*, and I did so, but I am quite sure that he conscientiously thought the thing would be better managed by the Government.

Mr. KINNAIRD—In justice to Sir Cecil Beadon, the Governor of Bengal, I should say that he from the beginning gave every possible encouragement to private enterprise; he thinks private enterprise the proper thing.

The CHAIRMAN—I conclude that it is the wish of the meeting that the further discussion of this subject be adjourned till after February. In the mean time I think I may congratulate the Society upon having heard a paper read which is so eminently calculated to promote the objects of the Association. *Magna est veritas, et prevalebit*; and no doubt such will be found to be the case with regard to this great question of irrigation. The more amply it is discussed, the more fully shall we see its true bearing.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman, moved by Mr. Tayler, terminated the proceedings.

EVENING MEETING.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 17th, 1867.

LIEUT. - GENERAL WILKINSON, C.B. IN THE CHAIR.

A PAPER was read by P. M. MEHTA, Esq., entitled

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY.

It is a matter of no small congratulation to the natives of India that there does not exist, and indeed never seriously existed, a necessity for any vindication of the political expediency or morality of giving education to them. From the very first moment when the problem of Indian education was mooted, almost every Indian statesman of note has ever steadily discarded all insinuations as to its danger or impolicy. There is a story told of Mountstuart Elphinstone, so far back as when he was Governor of Bombay, which may be regarded as expressing the typical sentiment on the point. It is related by Lieutenant-General Briggs, who served under him at the time of the Mahratta crisis. "On my observing in the corner of his tent one day," says that officer, "a pile of printed Mahratta books, I asked him what they were meant for? 'To educate the natives,' said he; 'but it is our high road back to Europe.' 'Then,' I replied, 'I wonder you, as Governor of Bombay, have set it on foot.' He answered, 'We are bound, under all circumstances, to do our duty to them.'" And with these we may fitly record the memorable words of Macaulay, that this same path of duty is also "the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, and of national honour,"—words reflecting the highest credit both on the men who pronounced them and the nation they represented. We cannot, then, be sufficiently thankful that the first and most formidable objection to the spread of education in India was never entertained but to be dismissed with indignation.

We may also notice here another obstacle, not less dangerous, which was offered with far greater persistency, but which was eschewed with equal wisdom and resolution—I mean, the demand to impart religious at the same time with secular instruction in all the State schools. The arguments which the advocates of this system brought forward, and still bring forward; for, though unsuccessful, they are not yet extinct—are of no inconsiderable weight with a large proportion of ordinary intellects. The truth of Christianity, its vast civilizing powers, social, moral, and intellectual, on the one hand; the degrading superstition in which the Hindús grovel, the utter stagnation of the whole social fabric under its petrifying influence, the impotence of secular education to cultivate the moral reason, on the other, were all adduced to support their demand. There was, at the same time, an absence of all direct religious intolerance, which considerably strengthened their position. The imprudence, not to say the bigotry, of these high but narrow minded men was, however, instantly exposed by keen and able thinkers; and, in the Bombay Presidency, Mr. Elphinstone recorded his strong convictions in his celebrated Minute on Education, which were fully concurred in by the Home Government, and subsequently expressly sanctioned in the Despatch of 1854—the charter of the present educational principles in India. He says there, “To the mixture of religion, even in the slightest degree, with our plans of education, I must strongly object. I cannot agree to clog with any additional difficulty a plan which has already so many objections to surmount. I am convinced that the conversion of the natives must infallibly result from the diffusion of knowledge among them. Evidently they are not aware of the connexion, or all attacks on their ignorance would be as vigorously resisted as if they were on their religion. The only effect of introducing Christianity into our schools would be to sound the alarm, and to warn the Brahmins of the approaching danger. Even that warning might perhaps be neglected so long as no converts were made; but it is a sufficient argument against a plan, that it can only be safe as long as it is ineffectual; and in this instance the danger involves not only failure of our plans of education, but the dissolution of our empire.” Whether the Christian religion as a religion is ever destined to flourish in Indian soil, I will not pretend to speculate upon; but all later experience justifies us in agreeing with Mr. Elphinstone, that its only chance of success lies through the jungle-paths, which may be cleared by secular education. The worthy people who

would let loose in India a band of State missionaries may therefore well be thankful that their impatience has not been allowed to defeat their own cherished object, and that a hopeful vista may still stretch before them through the rigorous inviolability attached to the principle of religious neutrality.

Unencumbered, happily, with these primary obstructions, it must not be supposed, however, that the problem of public education was to be at once definitely or easily solved. The intrinsic difficulties of the task were considerable. How and where to make a beginning; what were the present and potential capabilities of the various languages belonging to the country; what the amount of available knowledge contained in them; how to supplement it with, or initiate independently, European science and literature; above all, how and where to obtain scholars and schoolmasters: were all questions enveloped in a dense crowd of ignorance and misunderstanding. It was absolutely necessary to feel the way step by step. And, if mistakes were committed, we must not forget that they were sometimes inevitable.

It was as early as the year 1813, when a new charter was once more granted to the East India Company, that the question of public education was first opened. The Governor-General was empowered by the Act to set apart and apply an annual sum of not less than one lac of rupees, out of the surplus territorial revenues, "to the revival and improvement of literature" (I quote the words of the Act) "and for the encouragement of the learned natives of India; and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India."

Previous to this enactment there had been founded a Mahommedan College at Calcutta, by Warren Hastings, in 1781, and a Hindú Sanscrit College at Benares, by Jonathan Duncan, in 1791. But both these institutions were avowedly established for political purposes, and it is to Earl Minto that credit is due for having put the cause of education on an independent basis. Indeed, his Educational Minute of 1811 seems to have been the origin of the above provision. This provision was, however, strangely enough, simply a dead letter as regards the Bombay Presidency, being quietly held applicable only to Bengal. The first movement in that Presidency was unconnected with Government. In 1815 a society was formed for promoting the education of the poor within the Government of Bombay. The education of the natives, however, was by no means its

primary object. The honour of starting a society for this exclusive object belongs to a name deeply venerated throughout Western India, and whose memory, preserved in a public statue in the Town-hall of Bombay, still hovers as the tutelary guardian of all the educational institutions in the Presidency. I speak of the name of Mountstuart Elphinstone.

Soon after his appointment to the governorship, *i.e.* in 1820, a branch society of the Bombay Educational Society was started under his presidency, with the object of native education only in view. In 1822 it detached itself under the designation of "The Native School-book and School Society," and soon proceeded to apply to the Government for increased and continuous aid. Mr. Elphinstone, while granting several sums from the limited funds at his disposal, took the opportunity of recording his general views in an able and instructive Minute, in which he emphatically broached the idea of State education, and laid down a programme of public education which was afterwards often referred to. He enumerated the following as the principal measures for the diffusion of knowledge among the natives :—1st. To improve the mode of teaching at the native schools, and to *increase* their number. 2d. To supply them with school-books. 3d. To hold out encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them. 4th. To establish schools for the purpose of teaching the European sciences, and improvements in the higher branches of education. 5th. To provide the preparation and publication of works of moral and physical science in native languages. 6th. To establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of European discoveries. 7th. To hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of these last branches of knowledge.

This Minute bore no immediate fruit beyond the small grants mentioned above. But on the retirement of Mr. Elphinstone, in 1827, what his financial power as Governor was impotent to achieve was achieved by the influence of the admiring spirit which his earnestness and enthusiasm in the cause of education had conjured up around him. A subscription was started in his honour, which ultimately reached the sum of about 30,000*l.* and with which it was proposed to found an endowment for three professorships of the English language and European arts and sciences. The movement attracted the attention of the Board of Directors, who agreed to subscribe an annual sum of Rs. 20,000 in aid of the general

fund. The modest English school of the Native Educational Society was transformed into the Elphinstone Institution, destined to form the nucleus of the scattered English and Vernacular schools of the Society throughout the Presidency. In 1840 it was thought advisable to consolidate the different grants distributed through the hands of the Native Education Society, and a "Board of Education" was constituted, consisting of an equal number of Europeans and natives, named by the Government and the Society respectively, which was entrusted with the management of all the educational institutions in the Presidency. The contribution of Government towards the cost of education was fixed at the annual sum of 12,500*l*.

And now there arose a warm controversy between two parties, who may be conveniently denominated as the Vernacularists and the Anglicists, the former advocating the employment of the vernaculars of the natives as the principal media for the diffusion of education, the latter giving the preference to the English language. Already the controversy had passed through a phase which it is desirable to notice. When the problem of education was first taken in hand, attention was naturally turned to the existing Sanscrit and Arabic languages and literature. Fresh from the study of the history of European civilization, the foreigners were struck with the resemblance which the transitional state of things in India presented to the grand phenomena of the Revival of Learning at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. Sanscrit and Arabic were immediately proclaimed as the classical languages which were destined to perform the same part in the task of Indian regeneration which Greek and Latin had performed in that of European civilization. The wording of the provision mentioned above of the Act of 1815, as being intended for the encouragement of the learned natives of India, who it was urged, could be learned in their own languages and literature, was supposed to give legislative sanction to these views. Hindú Sanscrit Colleges and Mahommedan Madrisahs came into vogue, and the Court of Directors gave them their approval, after thus summing up the value of Sanscrit literature.

"We are informed," they say, "that there are in the Sanscrit language many excellent systems of ethics, with codes of laws and compendiums of the duties relating to every class of the people, the study of which might be useful to those natives who may be destined for the judicial department of government. There are also many tracts of merit,

we are told, on the virtues of plants and drugs, and on the application of them in medicine, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to the European practitioner, and there are treatises on astronomy and mathematics, including geometry and algebra, which though they may not add new lights to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the observatory and to the department of engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences."

During the prevalence of such sentiments, Mr. Chaplin, the successor of Mr. Elphinstone in the commissionership of the Deccan, established a Sanscrit College at Poona, in 1821. Experience, however, soon showed that Sanscrit language and literature were not only entirely devoid of any spontaneous germ of further development, but were useless and even mischievous, as far as they went, for the purposes of a regeneration at all commensurate with a nineteenth century civilization. Ram Mohun Roy was the first who had the courage openly to point out this fact in a memorial, addressed to Lord Amherst, in 1823. He was followed by Macaulay, who handled the whole question in a Minute dated 1835, and emphatically declared himself against the system pursued, as being warranted neither by the Act of 1815, nor by the beneficial results to be expected from it. I cannot do better than quote the paragraph in which he sums up the respective merits of the English and Sanscrit languages. "The question now before us," he says, "is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this (*i.e.* the English) language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier; astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding-school; history abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter." Though Macaulay and his supporters were branded as religious enthusiasts who proscribed Oriental literature with Russian barbarity, the soundness of their views prevailed, and Sanscrit colleges were doomed for ever. In

the Bombay Presidency, though the Poona Sanscrit College was allowed to continue (and it was entirely abolished only in 1851), the experiment was never again repeated.

Routed from the standpoints of the ancient sacred languages of India, the vanquished party put on a new garb, and took up another watchword. The Classicists soon reappeared as Vernacularists. True, Eastern lore was to give way before Western knowledge, but still the question remained open, What medium for communicating its vast stores of ideas was to be chosen as the fittest and best? There were the vernaculars of the country, the languages which the people spoke and in which they thought. True, they were dry, meagre, poor in the varied pliant powers of civilized expression. But could they not be cultivated and improved, as the languages of the barbarian invaders of the Roman empire had been cultivated and improved within historical memory? There was the English, by itself leaving nothing to desire; but was it ever to be expected that a language so intensely and radically foreign in its modes of speech and thought should ever make its way among a people especially pre-eminent for the possession of an unlimited amount of the inertia of conservatism?

Such were the questions which the Board of Education was called upon practically to decide when, in 1840, it entered upon its duties of educating a population of ten millions, at an annual expense of about 15,000*l*. Already, to a certain extent, a line of operations had been marked out for it, and there were precedents of experiments in the other Presidencies, particularly in that of Bengal. The programme laid down by Mr. Elphinstone in his Minute of 1823 had been acted upon so far as to establish one tolerably large English school, and a number of Vernacular schools, with a staff for the translation of English works. His colleague, Mr. Warden, had protested against the establishment of the latter, but the Court of Directors had pronounced Mr. Elphinstone's views as "sounder and more comprehensive." Sir John Malcolm had applied himself vigorously to the encouragement and extension of Vernacular schools. The result was, that the Board found themselves at the head of four English and thirty-three Vernacular Government schools, with the tradition of a prevailing bias in favour of the latter, which threatened to over-grow and almost annihilate the former. This most undesirable consummation was averted by the appointment, in 1844, as President of the Board of Education, of a gentleman who, with

sympathies as warm in the cause of native education as those of any of his predecessors, combined at the same time a clear appreciation of the end to be aimed at and the means to be pursued. Sir E. Perry, for it is to him I allude, deserves our most grateful acknowledgements for the fortitude with which he withstood, sometimes unaided and alone, all attempts to defeat the only means of education capable of effecting the real regeneration of all classes of the people of India.

The Anglo-Vernacular question is still of considerable importance; indeed, it reappears again and again, sometimes under very grotesque forms. It is, therefore, necessary that we carefully consider it, and place it in its true light.*

What is the real end and aim of all attempts to educate the natives of India? If the question were put with respect to England, France, or Germany, we know what the answer would be in its main general features—To induce the highest adaptability, either after an actual or an ideal standard, of all classes to the various social and political duties of their respective positions in life. But will the same answer suffice for India? Evidently not, from the simple fact of the simultaneous appearance of two civilizations most unequal in growth, one glowing with the strength and pride of full manhood, the other stunted early in its infancy, and sunk into concentrated childishness. Hence the first paramount aim of education in India is the absorption of the lower into the higher civilization, the reformation of the Old system of culture by the New. Such a consummation was, however, not to be achieved without great tact and delicacy. While inoculating its own dogmas, the new civilization would have to break up, expose, and analyse the old hereditary tastes, opinions, habits, customs, manners and modes of thought, those short rules of thought and action, unconsciously sucked in as first principles, self-evident and indisputable, from generation to generation. Such a process, if inaugurated, however, merely as dogma fighting against dogma, would be undoubtedly productive of a mental convulsion of the most unhealthy-character, and the result of which would be swayed by the most chance circumstances of life. And even the triumph of the higher civilization would not unfrequently assist in destroying its own object. The passive recipients of the new ideas would soon become liable to be taunted, and justly taunted, with the

* There is an agitation going on at present in the North-Western Provinces to obtain the establishment of a Vernacular University.

worst faults of shallow minds, irreverence to age and experience, childish petulance, and the pretence of knowledge without the reality. Such a transition period would be fraught with the gravest dangers, social and political. To win its way successfully and surely, the new civilization must come fully equipped and accoutred. It must bring with it not only all its settled creeds, but the proofs on which their higher truth is grounded. The Indian mind must be made to understand and appreciate it before it can be safely allowed to grapple with the old civilization. But what sort of education would be necessary for such a purpose, if not the highest possible sort of what is called liberal education? The question of popular education is perfectly legitimate, as *the* great educational question of the day, in England and other countries of Europe, where means for a high education are simply a patrimony. But it would be perfectly absurd and out of time and place to ascribe to it the same pre-eminence in India. An elementary knowledge of reading, and writing, and arithmetic, however widely diffused, would no more be able to break and loosen the hard ground of traditional prejudice than children's hatchets of paper, however numerous, would suffice to clear a jungle.

Without disparaging in the least the modest usefulness of elementary education, it may be laid down that in India it must yield precedence to the question of high liberal education. True, such high education would not be received and taken advantage of by crowds of eager scholars; true, it would be confined to a few—a very few, comparatively—the elect of God, as the Calvinists would say. But we universally find in the history of almost every great movement in the progress of civilization, in the history of all the reformatations and revolutions of the world, that it is these few men who do the work of the renovation of the masses,—who, endowed with real earnestness, deep thought, and comprehensive insight, create and mould the new ideas, and transfer them thus ready-made to the multitude, to be received by them on their authority and example. We must here take care to guard against a very common misconception, and bear in mind that these few men are not to be reckoned up absolutely as a hundred or two hundred, or even a thousand, a handful that one or two colleges could send forth after subjecting its full numbers to a sort of natural selection; but a few only comparatively with the millions of the whole population; and in India, the number of these few men must be absolutely very large indeed, when we consider the endless varieties of people that transform it almost into a continent by itself. It

is thus, I believe, sufficiently evident that all the energies of the educational department should be concentrated on the high quality of the education to be given as its paramount end and aim.

The next step in our inquiry is to ascertain whether the vernaculars of the country are fitted to become the vehicles of such an education. That in their present state they are utterly useless for this object, is admitted on all hands, even by their staunchest advocates. They have no literature, history, or science worthy of the name. It is contended, however, that they could be enriched, "either by direct translation or, which is preferable, by the representation of European facts, opinions, and sentiments in an original native garb." "In the earlier stages of improvement," says H. H. Wilson, the distinguished Orientalist, "the former mode is the only one that can be expected; hereafter, the latter would take its place, and would give to the people of India a literature of their own, the legitimate progeny of that of England, the living resemblance, though not the servile copy, of its parents." Certainly, this sounds most liberal and philo-Indian. But, unfortunately, the poverty of the vernacular languages is such that they do not admit of even decent translations. Commensurate with the civilization under which they grew up, they have positively no forms of expression for the unlimited number of European ideas, and their varied shades and modifications. European Oriental scholars are very apt to underrate this meagreness. They are able to make something out of the translations, reading them as they do under the light of their own previous knowledge. But to natives, new to the ideas contained in them, they are generally unintelligible, obscure, and sometimes ludicrous. Add to this the Herculean nature of the task, and the dearth of men able and willing to undertake it. It is perfectly chimerical to expect much from a paid staff of translators, and we have had early experience of the utter futility of such attempts. In a letter to the Bombay Government in 1832, the Board of Directors allude to this subject:—"There is but one part of your arrangements which appears to us not to work well. We refer to the mode hitherto adopted for supplying school-books. In five years, from 1826 to 1830, the works published by the Society have cost the Government Rs. 97,223. Government, moreover, pays Rs. 14,400 per annum for the Native Education Society Establishment, and gives prizes for translations (Rs. 32,700), so that, exclusive of the Dictionary, the total charge to Government has been Rs. 201,923." And all this expenditure without any substantial

results ; indeed, the printed works were proved to have been worth less than the paper on which they were printed. We cannot, then, too strongly condemn the spasmodic efforts to create, on short notice, a vernacular literature, or rather vernacular literatures, for even in the Bombay Presidency there are not less than three languages spoken by large portions of the population—the Mahratee, the Guzeratee, and the Kanarese. The only efficient mode of developing such literatures, if they ever are to develop, would be first to raise up a large body of native youths thoroughly conversant with Western ideas and notions, and to leave to them the task of gradually cultivating each language, and enriching it with useful knowledge. We cannot, however, postpone our plans of education, or procrastinate them till the vernaculars would become fit media for high education—a result which is to follow and take place through the successful working of those very plans.

We thus perceive the necessity of entirely discarding the vernaculars for the purposes of a high education, in which case we are obliged to fall back upon English. But here we are told that the difficulties in the way of the employment of English for our purpose are more insurmountable still. To borrow the words of one of the vernacularists themselves, “To instruct the natives of India in European literature and science, through the medium of English, is obviously impracticable, because experience shows that natives who speak English well, and can even write it with tolerable accuracy, cannot read and understand the commonest English work ; the fact is, that they have learnt words but not ideas.” The Minute from which this extract is taken is dated 1846. Now, eleven years ago we had the evidence of Macaulay, than whom none was more qualified in every respect to form an opinion on the subject. And here is what he says : “It is taken for granted by the advocates of Oriental learning, that no native of this country can possibly obtain more than a mere smattering of English. This is not merely an assumption, but an assumption contrary to all reason and experience. We know that foreigners of all nations do learn our language sufficiently to have access to all the most abstruse knowledge which it contains, sufficiently to relish even the more delicate graces of our most idiomatic writers. There are in this very town (*i.e.* Calcutta), natives who are quite competent to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language. It is unusual to find even in the literary circles of the continent any foreigner

who can express himself in English with so much facility and correctness as we find in many Hindús." And we may say, without much fear of contradiction, that the correctness of this judgment has been uniformly verified by all our latest experience. There remains one other objection to the rejection of the vernaculars, and to the employment of English, namely, that we would thus throw away the only means of communicating to the masses of the people the superior knowledge acquired in English colleges. In the first place, the objection ignores the necessity to which we are reduced by the hopeless poverty of the vernaculars themselves, and assumes that, when we cannot civilize all at once, we ought not to civilize any portion of them. In the second place, we do not entirely reject the vernaculars. They would, of course, be taught in all the English schools. And the same remark would hold good with respect to the classical languages, Sanscrit and Arabic. We would put them down in the curricula of our English universities, as, perhaps more prominently than they are put down in those of the Universities of Bonn and Paris.

To sum up the conclusions to which we have arrived, namely: 1. That the nature of the Anglo-Indian connexion obliges us to subordinate the question of Popular Education to that of a superior Liberal Education. 2. That in case of there being a want of means to carry on both objects concurrently, preference was to be assigned to the latter over the former. 3. That the vernaculars of the country were unsuited to become the vehicles of the requisite high education, and that, consequently, English was to be the principal medium of imparting knowledge.

These conclusions were not, however, unanimously acquiesced in by the Board of Education, and at the time of its dissolution in 1854, the state of educational affairs in the Presidency was characterized by no marked traits in favour of one system or the other. All that the President, Sir Erskine Perry, had been able to do was confined to preserving the original impulse given to English Education in 1827. The consequence was, that neither English schools nor vernacular schools were what they ought to have been, and the small annual sum of 15,000*l.* at the disposal of the Board, instead of being judiciously laid out on a few well-defined permanent objects, was frittered away in attempting too much. There were 203 vernacular schools, attended by 20,000 scholars. The state of these schools was, however,

by no means promising, in spite of the large sums expended in procuring zealous superintendents and a better race of schoolmasters and school-books. They never advanced beyond imparting an elementary knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Above them, but not in any order of natural development, there were about 12 English schools in some of the principal Presidency towns, and 2 high schools or colleges at Bombay and Poona respectively, and a Medical College at Bombay, mustering in all about 30,000 scholars. Though cramped for want of means to obtain qualified schoolmasters, these schools, so far as they were allowed to go, seem to have proved a decided success. They went far towards giving a sound education in the English language, mathematics, history, and geography, political economy, and moral and mental science. Some of the men turned out by the Elphinstone and Poona Colleges, though wanting perhaps in accurate, thorough scholarship, were deeply read in Western literature and science, and came out imbued with an earnest desire for inquiry and improvement. To the activity of their awakened minds we owe several beneficial institutions which still bear fruit, giving the surest testimony to the usefulness, and the consequent necessity of the system of which they were the results—libraries, literary societies, societies for delivering elementary lectures on scientific subjects, societies for the diffusion of information in the vernacular languages, establishments for printing elementary treatises and periodicals. And to them also belongs the honour of having made the first movements towards founding girls' schools, and even acting as schoolmasters without any remuneration. And last, not least, they commenced efforts to shake loose the heavy shackles of superstition and idolatry, the first of which were gnawing down the very vitals of society. Here a phenomenon appeared well worthy of observation. As these men were drifting about in a sea of doubt with respect to their positive religions, their morality, instead of being shaken, appeared to derive additional strength and intensity, as if their intellects were exerting themselves to fill up the gaps daily becoming more apparent in the crumbling edifice of Faith. And these honourable spontaneous efforts were by no means tainted with the vice of an overweening assumption of superiority. An observer on the spot thus speaks of them: "It ought to be said in justice to the youth of Bombay, that extremely little of the flippancy and self-conceit which has appeared in other parts of India, has shown itself among them."

These results were, however, more satisfactory as proving the capacity of the natives to avail themselves of the new culture, than for their number or intensity. In one respect, indeed, the experiment had surpassed expectation. The success of the Grant Medical College (teaching English medical science in the original language) was almost perfect as far as it went. It still produces a body of men, little, if at all, inferior to those produced by any of the medical schools of Europe. The success arose from a happy combination of correct principles with a full, thorough organization. This organization was, however, wanting in the case of the schools and colleges above spoken of. And the sad effects resulting therefrom came out strongly in a general examination held in 1854. A considerable amount of failure was owing, no doubt, to an inevitable reaction after the hard-strained efforts which had been brought to work upon them. But still the fact was patent that the system was deficient in definiteness, vigour, and discipline. The colleges and the schools were not working harmoniously, the one to supply the other. Neither of them had complete staffs of efficient teachers and professors. There was no system of tutorship in the colleges, and the students were left very much to learn what they liked. And there was another defect which prevented them from ever accumulating and consolidating their strength—a universal want of resident schools and colleges. Perhaps in European countries, where the educational atmosphere has spread itself even outside the pale of the public schools and universities, residence and terms-keeping has done its work, and is no longer indispensable to a thorough education. But in India, where the educational atmosphere itself is yet being formed, where the inner educational world has not yet developed and utilized all its resources of mental intercommunication, where the outside world is still choked with stagnant exhalations, there is a crying necessity to prevent any waste of mental energy, by allowing it to be attenuated by constant distention, and to be daily diluted, and even adulterated by the surrounding uncongenial atmosphere. And there are special reasons, of which not the least important arises from the ordinary scantiness of social intercourse in the country. The foundation of a school and university *esprit de corps* would go far towards originating a national *esprit de corps*, which would work powerfully upon the estrangements of caste and creed, and melt them under the warmth generated by the healthy collision of young minds.

These were some of the principal facts elicited by an experience of about forty years, when, in 1854, the Court of Directors thought the time had arrived for a safe induction of general principles, and the promulgation of a universal, definite system of education founded thereupon. They issued their Dispatch of 1854, which, as I have said above, is at present the great charter of the educational interests in India. It has now been in operation for twelve years, so that we are now in a favourable position to examine it, observe its merits and deficiencies, and indicate the reforms and alterations which it needs, by the aid of the experience which has tried it, and still tries it, as well as by the experience which produced it.

In performing this review, it will be well if we realize to ourselves the threefold attitude in which the English Government stands towards the subject of Indian Education. First of all, there is their position as governors of the country, in which capacity they may be said to combine the characters of absolute monarchs, and the principal State dignitaries. The encouragement to education and learning expected from them, as such personages, cannot certainly be less than the encouragement, for instance, freely and liberally awarded to it in England by the Plantagenets and Tudors and their great bishops and chancellors, the Wykehams, the Waynfletes, the Wolseys, and other names still honoured and remembered in the stately halls of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The advance of modern ideas develops this position into one of higher responsibility, by entailing the obligation of greater comprehensiveness and fuller organization. In the second place, they occupy the position of the great landlords of the country, thus charging themselves, in respect to education, with duties similar to those obligations, for instance, on the English aristocracy and squirehood. Thirdly and lastly, they stand out in a position prouder and nobler than any position as either monarchs or landlords, in that of the apostles of a civilization infinitely superior, materially, morally, and intellectually, to the indigenous civilization of the country. Reflecting higher glory, such a mission, however, requires higher sacrifices, demanding strenuous exertions to overcome the contrary forces of national repugnance, and the apathy and inertia of long-continued ignorance.

Let us now proceed to see how far the high duties arising from this threefold attitude have been recognised and carried out in the educational measures directed by the great Dispatch of 1854.

I. Before any considerable extension of educational efforts could be carried out, it was necessary to provide adequate machinery for its administration and superintendence. The Dispatch wisely abolished the amateur councils and boards of education which had hitherto prevailed, and substituted a public department of education, with an officer at its head, denominated the Director of Public Instruction. In the Bombay Presidency, the successful working of the department, and the capability of further improvement which it has lately shown under its present zealous and energetic head, has proved the judiciousness of the policy which established it. If any reform can be suggested, it is the reform of a further development, of opening the field of a greater and more authoritative usefulness, by assigning to the Director a seat in the Executive Council of the Governor. Such a step is strongly recommended by the examples afforded by France and Germany, where the systems of public instruction have been carried to unprecedented efficiency.

II. The next measure was directed towards the perfection and systematic organization of the existing crude institutions for imparting a liberal education. In this respect, the Directors wisely availed themselves of the lessons which experience had taught them. "Before proceeding further," they say early in their Dispatch, "we must emphatically declare, that the education we desire to see extended is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improvements, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe, in short, of European knowledge." At the same time, they proclaimed the English language to be the principal, as being the most perfect medium of imparting education, recommending, however, a careful study and cultivation of the vernaculars in all the English schools. They perhaps erred on the side of exaggerated sanguineness when they thought the vernacular sufficiently advanced to be the media for the diffusion of the knowledge obtained in the higher schools. However, in pursuance of their main object, they directed the establishment of a graduated series of colleges and high schools, or what would be here called "Grammar Schools," with universities at their head, to test and examine their efficiency by conferring degrees. This measure has not been carried out, at least in the Presidency of Bombay, in that spirit of liberal thoroughness which ought to have characterized it. The blame of this attaches less to the local than the Home and the Supreme Government, both of whom

refused the necessary means for instituting a perfect system. The formation of the Bombay University, indeed, was successfully accomplished on the model of the London University, as a body for examining and conferring the well-known English degrees. Its charter and its examination standards were also mainly borrowed from the Calendars of the University of London, and with the exception of not requiring as indispensable all the chief classical and modern languages of Western Europe, its programmes have been as high as those of any University in England. And they have not been nominally, but in rigid earnestness enforced. Every year, notwithstanding, increased numbers flock to it. From the few who presented themselves for entrance in its first year, there are this year 550 reported as going up for matriculation. The attainments of its full graduates are now considered to be so high that the Senate have passed a resolution to ask its recognition at the hands of the English universities, and it is to be hoped that such a right of sisterhood will not be refused in mere pride or indifference.

The operations of the University, though triumphantly conducted so far as regards the depth and quality of the attainments which it tests and rewards have been circumscribed in extent, owing to the inefficiency of the measures for graduating a series of well-organized colleges and high schools. With a deplorable want of far-sighted liberality, they were left deficient in a number of essentials. It seems to have been forgotten that the desire of a liberal education was to be a forced growth, more even than that for a more middling and elementary education, in a country where the opportunities for its employment in practical life were sadly wanting. It was conceived that the perception of the general enlightening benefits of a high education ought to be sufficient causes to instil an eager thirst for it among the richer classes. But these calculations have ever failed. The Hindús would never stir unless prompted by the impulses of a direct palpable self-interest. This has been often bewailed as a strange phenomenon of Indian perversity unwarranted by any European experience. But is it so? Has it really been that in any country of Europe, however civilized, the desire of high education for its own sake has preceded and not followed the demand of such education for direct worldly advancement? More especially, has it ever been in England that such high-flown sentiments obtained among a nation priding itself upon its intensely practical character? No, not even in France, where the people

have shown themselves capable of generalizing wider views of life, and adopting deeper principles of conduct than in any other country of the world, has such been the course of events. We cannot but then deplore the premature haste with which the high educational institutes were cast away from the fostering hands of Government. The colleges and the high schools were left almost as imperfect as they were before 1854.

The Elphinstone College, far from being raised into a residing college, was left unprovided even with a building, and it is only lately that the exertions of its late principal obtained funds for that purpose from private liberality. Another more palpable deficiency was left unremedied—the providing an efficient teaching staff. The last Educational Report complains bitterly of this circumstance. “Connected with the whole University of Bombay,” it says, “which is the fountain-head of science and literature for fifteen millions of people, we have not a single professor of history, nor of Latin, Greek, Arabic, or Hebrew, though every one of these subjects are entered in the University list of subjects for examination. And in almost all of them numerous candidates are constantly presenting themselves. There is only one professor of chemistry, and no professor of geology, or astronomy, or applied sciences, or even of Indian law.” It is to be earnestly desired that the Head Government will take some cognizance of this state of facts, and provide means to obviate it. In connexion with this we may also notice the scheme proposed by Sir Alex. Grant, for the constitution of a small covenanted educational service, so that a supply of competent men for the higher appointments may be insured on certain principles, and sufficient inducements offered to attract them. Though rejected by the Government of India, in spite of the recommendation of the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India has promised last session to give it his best consideration, and we may be allowed to express a hope that the promise will be redeemed ere long, and in a manner favourable to the educational interests of Bombay.

III. The third principal measure directed by the Dispatch was aimed towards the provision of middle-class and elementary education. The Directors profess to attach the greatest importance to this subject, more than even to high-class education. But as the pitch of their language is always considerably toned down in practice, their exaggerated words have led to popular education receiving only its proper consideration,

though comparatively, with high education, far more than its due. The last Report speaks of the Bombay Presidency as being strong in vernacular education. This has been owing very much to the operation of what is called the local cess, or a small surcharge of half per cent. on the local revenues, for application to educational purposes. The latest returns give the numbers of 172 middle-class, and 1,357 vernacular primary schools, with an attendance of 23,150 and 79,189 pupils respectively, making a total of 1,529 schools and 102,339 pupils. There are, besides, about 35 aided schools, with about 2,800 pupils; and coupled with the representation of the efficiency of the schools as being fair on the whole, we may consider this state of things as nearly satisfactory for the time that has passed since 1854.

IV. The fourth, I may say the last great measure of the Dispatch, is directed towards making provision for the maintenance of the system which was sketched out. And here the Directors fell into a blunder which has been the principal cause of the unsatisfactory state of the higher educational institutions to which we have adverted above. After working themselves up into a belief of "the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India," the Dispatch commended the introduction of the system of Grants in Aid.

It is the peculiar misfortune of India that she is liable to suffer from a double set of errors of the most opposite kinds. She is debarred from the benefit of English institutions which she has urgent need of, while others are forced upon her which are entirely unsuited to her circumstances. All the conditions which recommended the introduction of the Grants in Aid system in England are wanting in India—(1) the wide-spread perception of the general and special advantages of education; (2) the existence of a complete and richly endowed set of colleges and grammar schools; and (3) the necessity for the recognition of a denomination system of education. This entire want of analogy was entirely submerged in the solicitude to be as economic as possible—if the timidity which shrinks from investing on reproductive works is to be called economy. In the case of middle-class and primary education the strenuous exertion of the Department of Public Instruction have preserved the system from utter failure, though even in respect to these the reports of the inspectors state, as more successful, the operation of the local cess, or what ought to be called a local education rate on landed property.

For the promotion of high-class education, it has been, as we have shown above, simply a nullity. It is high time therefore, that, at least so far as this principle is concerned, the Dispatch be reconsidered and modified with the light of the experience we have obtained. The expenditure on education in the Bombay Presidency is certainly not so extravagant that a moderate increase should be a matter of complaint. There is a paragraph in the Report of Public Instruction for 1866-7 so clearly setting out this point, that I will make bold to extract it. "The total Imperial expenditure," it says, "on education, science and arts, taken for twelve months, gives an annual rate of Rs. 945,340 for 1866-7, standing out against Rs. 932,184 actually expended in the official year of 1865-6. The rate of expenditure for the past and the present year appears nearly stationary, and, when compared with the estimated revenues of the Bombay Presidency for the current year,—viz. Rs. 87,593,700 (*i.e.* nearly 8,000,000*l.*), it appears to bear the ratio of $1\frac{1}{12}$ per cent. to the Presidential revenues. This proportion must be admitted to be small, especially when it is considered that in England the Parliamentary grant for education was 1,030,600*l.*, which, on an Imperial revenue of 68,000,000*l.* gives a proportion of more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and that the English public grant is almost entirely for subsidies to primary schools; whereas, in this country, the education of the people implies not only the diffusion of primary instruction, but also the introduction of higher learning and science, and the doing for India all that the richly endowed universities and ancient grammar schools, and centuries of refinement have done for England. Were 2 per cent. per annum on the Presidential revenues allowed to Bombay, the whole aspect of the department and the universities," continues to say Sir Alexander Grant, "might, in my opinion, be speedily changed for the better." Surely, we might add, this is not asking too much from a Government which, as we have seen, combines the threefold character of sovereign, landlord, and civilizer.

Before concluding this paper, sir, I will task the indulgence of the meeting a little more, for the purpose of seeing if we can apply the knowledge that we have obtained of this system of public instruction to the consideration of the proposal respecting the Indian Civil Service, lately laid before the Secretary of State for India by a deputation from our Association. Of the two schemes,—one, for founding scholarships to enable a certain number to come over to England and offer themselves for examination; and another, for transferring a portion of

the Indian Civil Service Examination to India itself—the former has found favour, both with the press here and the whole English press in India, while the latter has been deprecated or denounced as premature and dangerous. Their arguments have been chiefly these: (1) That it is of infinite importance that Indian youths should visit England and breathe the atmosphere of its knowledge and enlightenment; and (2) that there is a danger of deterioration in the examination standard, if the examinations were to take place in India. I must be pardoned for saying that these arguments betray ignorance of the real cause why the clause in the Queen's Proclamation, opening the Service without distinction of colour or creed, has hitherto been a nullity, and ignorance of the state of educational affairs in India. Is it that the want of means has prevented the Hindús from flocking to England? And, when means have been laid at their very doors, how many have come forward to avail themselves of them? We must here take care not to confound the Hindús with the Parsees, who are simply a handful in a population of millions, and the majority of those whom we see here are of the latter, not of the former race. Indeed, we have very significant experience on this whole point. About three years ago, Mr. R. J. Jeejeebhai endowed five fellowships, worth Rs. 30,000 each, for enabling five young men to proceed to England for the study of law. Of the three apportioned to the Bombay Presidency, one was for a Hindú, the other two being for a Parsee and Portuguese respectively. And how many Hindús do you think, sir, competed for this most magnificent provision? Not a single one, sir. The uneducated were withheld by the prejudices of caste and country, and the educated did not care to break abruptly some of the most sacred, social, and family ties, especially when the means of enlightenment were, to a certain extent, near at their hands. I do not wish to depreciate in the slightest degree the immense benefits to be derived from a visit to England. But we must not forget that in India itself there are at work, on the Hindú minds, those very English elements which go towards the formation of the inner strata of English life and English society, in the English education which the natives are receiving, in the English literature which they are greedily devouring, in the English poetry which they are learning to appreciate, in the English history with which they are learning to sympathize. The strong Anglicising under-current which has begun running through the deeper intuitions of Indian students has not yet been noted and carefully observed. I will venture to say that

in the natural course of transition phenomena, evolving extreme views and creeds, there will ere long be produced in India a body of men out-Heroding Herod, more English than the English themselves. Thus we see that, while on the one hand the proposed scholarships would simply prove illusory as to attracting the Hindú youths to England, the object involved in it is not wholly unprovided for in India itself. And, moreover, it would be a positive blunder to draw young men early in life to receive their Education here. High as is the value that has been set in this paper on English education, if educated young Indians are to devote themselves to the grand task of Indian regeneration more effectively and successfully than unsympathetic, unappreciating foreigners, this English education must have, as the subject for it to work upon, the substratum of Hindú prejudice, and Hindú superstition, and Hindú idolatry. Otherwise you annihilate their peculiar aptitude for their mission : you silence that voice of power which springs only from the consciousness of having once felt, and appreciated, and sympathized with the faiths and the creeds you now expose and denounce. But such would undoubtedly be the result if you immerse Indian youths for the best part of their lives in a purely English atmosphere.

If the Secretary of State for India is desirous of redeeming the promise of equality loudly made in the Queen's Proclamation, let us entreat him to adopt the only alternative worthy of an honourable and magnanimous nation.

And what an impulse and energy such a step would impart to the whole educational system. A writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, who might very well represent the whole French nation, asks, in somewhat fanciful language, "si les collèges de l'Inde forment, s'ils ont déjà formé des hommes qui, sous les vêtements flottants de l'Hindou et le teint d'Othello, tiendraient dignement leur place sur les bancs d'une assemblée politique européenne, sur le siège du magistrat, dans la chaire du professeur, dans l'état-major d'une armée, au milieu des sociétés polies, élégantes et éclairées d'une grande capitale?" If the above large-minded policy were pursued, it would not be long before England could proudly point to India before the face of the whole civilized world in answer to this demand. (*Educ. Rep. Parl. Rep. Speeches, &c. &c.*)

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI thought that, concurrently with the promotion of the higher class education, the strenuous efforts of the Government should be directed to assisting and encouraging popular education, whereby the lower classes would be

gradually elevated so as to meet the efforts of those more highly educated. He agreed with Mr. Mehta, that English was the only medium through which the natives could receive the higher class education, the vernaculars being so numerous, and each requiring a cultivation of itself. Referring to the movement in Bombay with regard to female education, he said that Sir Alexander Grant and Miss Mary Carpenter had recommended a plan of establishing normal schools, for the purpose of providing qualified female teachers for female schools, which plan had been approved by the Bombay Government, but with respect to which a rather narrow interpretation had been given of the Grant in Aid clause of 1854 by the Supreme Government. When the schools were first started in 1850, the Government were anxious and willing to come forward, but those connected with the movement thought it would be unadvisable to have Government assistance, and they tried to carry on the system themselves. A great deal had been done by the natives of Bombay (1,600 girls having been educated in different schools), and he thought that that being so, it was almost unjust on the part of the Supreme Government to say that those having the management of the schools must contribute to the extent of half the application made to the Government. He thought that the Government, in the present state of Bombay as regards education, ought to have come forward with the greatest liberality in carrying out the project. The great difficulty now was to get qualified female teachers. The girls left the schools before they were eleven or twelve, and for many years it had been found difficult to bring up a class of ladies competent to take charge of properly constituted and organized girls' schools. He considered that the application made by the Bombay people had not been met by the Government in that spirit in which it ought to have been, seeing what they had already done.

Mr. TAYLOR regretted that such an able, clever, and elaborate paper as had been read to-night should have been read to a meeting consisting of only twenty-four, most of whom were not Englishmen (who it might have been supposed would have taken an interest in such an important question), but Bombay gentlemen, who had taken the van in the new civilization of India, and who, of course, were prepared to go heart and soul with Mr. Mehta, and who, therefore, could not be expected to raise any discussion upon his paper. As he had proposed on a former occasion, when Sir Arthur Cotton read his valuable paper on Irrigation, he was very much inclined now to propose that the consideration of the present subject, which had been so elaborately and ably treated by Mr. Mehta, should be adjourned and brought before the Association at a time of the year when a larger assembly could be calculated upon. The subject of education was one to which he had paid the greatest attention. As Commissioner of Patna he had proposed to the Government a novel scheme of education, in consequence of which the whole scheme of education of the great province of Behar was placed specially under his control. That proposal was to carry out that which Mr. Dadabhai Naorji had recommended, viz., two species of education—(1st) The higher class of education which those who looked to entering into the higher offices under the English Government, and those who were rich enough to afford time for the acquirement of it, availed themselves, such education being carried on through the medium of the English language; and (2nd) the education of the masses, with respect to which species of education it was a perfect absurdity to suppose that those poor children, whose parents

could scarcely spare them for two hours a day for education, could first of all acquire a foreign language, and could then, through the medium of that foreign language, attain even the rudiments of scientific knowledge. He agreed with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji that if the Government sought the benefit of India, it would not only direct its attention to the higher class education, but would devote part of its funds, and some of the machinery at its command for the benefit of the masses. He suggested whether it would not be worth taking into consideration the advisability of deferring all interesting and important subjects, such as that which had been brought before the meeting to-night, till a season in which a larger attendance might be hoped for. Though there were many points raised in the paper upon which he would like to make a few observations, he would rather not enter upon them now.

Mr. MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE, while he agreed that it would be better if such subjects were discussed at a season of the year when there would be a probability of a larger attendance, thought a small attendance of persons really interested in the matter discussed was preferable to an assembly of ten times the number, if they only came out of curiosity. He disagreed with Mr. Dadabhai in thinking that the Government were to blame for requiring from the supporters of the schools a contribution of half that which the Government were asked to contribute. The misfortune of India had hitherto consisted in the people looking to Government to originate everything, to undertake everything, and to perfect everything. Americans and Europeans had risen to their pre-eminent position by the enterprise and action of the people themselves, and he considered, therefore, the principle laid down by the Government in their Dispatch a sound one, viz., if the people themselves organize schools, the Government would meet them half way. If the projectors of the schools that had been established for the vernacular education only of the native girls, had applied to Government for a grant in aid, he did not think they would have been refused, but he had yet to learn that the managers of those girls' schools had applied to the Government.

Mr. MEHTA stated that they had not yet applied to the Government.

Mr. MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE remarked that if the Government had not been asked to assist them, no complaint could be made against the Government on that score. With regard to English being the language through the medium of which great changes might be wrought in the ideas and opinions of the natives, he thought that there could not be two opinions, and therefore he agreed with what Mr. Mehta and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had said on that point.

Mr. CHISHOLM ANSTREY suggested that after February, when Mr. Mehta's paper would have been printed and circulated, and after Mr. Mehta had conferred with those best able to give advice upon the subject, he should draw up a series of resolutions embodying in a practical way the views he had propounded. The matter would then have been considered out of doors, and it would be competent to persons who, like himself, agreed with much that had been brought forward by Mr. Mehta, and disagreed with a little, to give a distinct *Aye* or *No* upon each point. He agreed with Mr. Mehta, that the liberal education should be kept apart from the vernacular education. He thought that the higher education should be imparted in some one known language

which is likely to obtain nearly universal reception, and the English language was best for that purpose. The question was, whether English and the vernacular could not be combined, and whether it could not be made imperative on those who attended the schools, and were learning how to be teachers, not only to learn English in order to acquire the learning taught to them in English, but to abide their examinations in their own vernacular. The Asiatic genius was remarkably acute, and the Asiatic memory was remarkably retentive; but, to borrow a phrase which has been quoted to-night, there was too great a tendency amongst the Hindús to retain words rather than ideas. Dr. Haynes found that the natives learnt his lectures which he had given in English, by heart, and when they were examined he found that they answered his questions in the very words he had used from the chair. If the examinations of the natives were in their own vernacular, the examiners would ascertain whether they had really acquired and made their own the lessons they had learnt. Refraining from further observations, on account of the lateness of the hour, he would merely throw out whether it was expedient that anything should be said with reference to this question which might in any way tend to irritate the native mind—whether it was worth while to say anything about “idolatry,” or “superstition.”

Captain BARBER, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Mehta for his very able paper, suggested that if Mr. Mehta acted upon the proposition of Mr. Chisholm Anstey, to draw up a series of resolutions, those resolutions should be sent to him, so that they might be printed with Mr. Mehta's paper, and so give members an opportunity of considering them in conjunction with the paper.*

The vote of thanks having been seconded, was put and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and carried unanimously.

* It is now proposed to print them separately in a circular which will be sent round with the notice of the day of discussion.

EVENING MEETING, FRIDAY, JANUARY 10, 1868.

P. P. GORDON, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

A PAPER was read by COLONEL T. G. HALY, entitled :—

THE CAPABILITIES OF THE HILL RANGES OF INDIA AND COFFEE AND TEA PLANTING ON THEM.

The task that I have undertaken is one, that I find, cannot be thoroughly gone through in one evening meeting, therefore, I shall confine myself, for the present, to the agricultural and commercial capabilities of the mountain ranges of Southern India, trusting that on some future, and not far-distant, day, I may have the opportunity of enlarging more completely on those in the other parts of that empire, more particularly of those in Upper Bengal, and their vital importance in both a political and military point of view ; and I shall here only remark that, perhaps, few things more particularly mark the great want of foresight of the rulers of India, than the manner in which they ignore the advantages to be gained by turning these natural strongholds to better account.

It may be necessary here to explain that, in using the word stronghold, though I do so advisedly, it is not so much in reference to either fortresses or natural military strongholds, but as refers to the constitution of the soldier and of the rulers of the empire, as all acquainted with the climate of India must know the deteriorating effects on the European constitution of a continued residence in the plains, particularly to those having to go through much mental work and anxiety, such, for instance, as the Governor-General, his council, and the minor governors and their councils are so continually called on to exert.

These, without doubt, should be located more with reference to a healthy and invigorating climate, than to any geographical position,¹ as should likewise the European forces, as the facility of locomotion now afforded by railway quite obviates the necessity for that regard to the position of military stations that formerly existed, and therefore should the bulk of the European forces in India be congregated at known *sanitariums*.

This measure is now the more imperatively called for in reference to the European troops, consequent not only on the increase of cholera amongst those resident in the plains, but that it is obviously assuming, year by year, a more virulent form, in spite of all our boasted skill, sanitary measures, &c. &c.; and an extract from an official report, that I shall presently read, will show that much of the mortality and illness now so prevalent amongst the European troops might be avoided by locating them on the hill ranges, instead of so unaccountably sticking them down in some unhealthy spot in the plains, where, as a rule, they are likewise strategically misplaced; but as it is my intention to dilate most fully on this point in its proper place in my next paper, I shall refrain from further remarks for the present, leaving you to judge for yourselves from the following official extract which I shall now read:—

“950 men were quartered for nine months at Darjeeling (altitude 8,000 feet), namely, from April to December, and their daily average per centage of sick to strength was 5·79; they had no cholera, and deaths from all causes numbered 14·20 per 1,000 of average strength.

“889 men, who were stationed at Dugshale (altitude 5,400 feet), from February to December, had an average daily sick of 3·78 per cent. of average strength, and the deaths per 1,000 of average strength were 13·50—they had no cholera. At Sabathoo (altitude 4,200 feet), 601 men had an average daily per centage of sick to strength of 7·54, and the deaths numbered 4·99 per 1,000 of average strength only—they had no cholera. While in the plains at Agra, the strength was 876, the average daily sickness of 6·61 per cent. of average strength, and the deaths 21·69 per 1,000. At Allahabad, the strength was 1,013, the average daily

¹ In the good old days of transit by bullock dawk at the rate of 2½ miles per hour, and the post averaging scarcely double that, it might have been necessary that the ruling powers should be restricted to the supposed most advantageous spot, but which certainly Calcutta never could have been; but with the now lightning messenger for correspondence, and the fiery iron steeds for transit, it is difficult to account for the pertinacity with which the home authorities adhere to their determination that the Governor General should be stewed in Calcutta.

sickness 4·19 per cent., and the deaths 33·56 per 1,000 of average strength. At Meerut the strength was 1,783, the average daily sickness 7·14 per cent. of average strength, and the deaths 22·43 per 1,000 of average strength."

These remarkable and suggestive figures, showing the comparative mortality amongst our troops, cannot be too much dwelt on, or widely made known; and, to quote the opinions of one of the principal military papers, "to keep soldiers at the latter a moment longer than was absolutely necessary, were an act which would bear a very ugly resemblance to man-slaughter." I will likewise read an extract from a lecture delivered at the Royal U.S. Institution, by Dr. Mowatt, late Inspector General of Prisons, Bengal, than whom a better authority could not be.

"In India the great resource against climatic deterioration is our hill-stations. If the soldiers in India were sent to the hills in larger numbers, and more frequently than they are now, there is no doubt that the necessity, on the score of health, of frequent reliefs from Europe would be obviated. The standard of health at these hill-stations is very remarkable. At Darjeeling, there is a school for children, which has been established ever since the station has existed; and from that hour to this, although many of the children were sent up sickly from the plains, not a single death has occurred from disease contracted at the station; yet they are of the very class of children who die in multitudes in the plains. The same may be said of the soldier himself."

But, as I have already said, I must now leave this subject to another opportunity, and proceed with "the agricultural and commercial capabilities of the mountain ranges of Southern India," and will commence with the Neilgherry Hills, as not only being the principal, but those with which I am best acquainted.

On the salubrity of their climate I need scarcely dilate, as this is well known throughout India, as they have become of late years the grand *sanitariums* for those residing in Lower Bengal and Bombay, as well as Madras; for their access by sea, being distant only eighty miles from the western coast, and about 350 from the eastern, with railroads running to the foot of them from either coast, renders them more easy of reach than any other of the *sanitariums* in India. They are likewise the resort of retired officers, both civil and military, some of whom have opened out coffee-estates that extend down the sides of the mountains as low as 2,000 feet, the climate at which altitude, when cleared of jungle and opened out,

agrees with both the European constitution and that of the natives from the plains ; but it is their table-land, or from the altitude of from 5,000 to 7,000 feet, that is the most salubrious.

The original inhabitants, or those found there by us on our first real acquaintance with these hills, (some forty years ago), are of three races or classes, viz., the Todawars, a pastoral tribe fast disappearing ; the Khootahs, chiefly ironsmiths, and the Burghers, cultivators on a small scale. The whole of these people were found to be eking out a most miserable existence when first these hills were resorted to by Europeans ; but they have much improved since it has become a *sanitarium* and field for European enterprise in coffee and tea planting.

The area of the plateau of the Neilgherry Hills comprises about 300,000 square acres, of which not more than 55,000 have been brought under cultivation. The soil is exceedingly rich and productive, and the climate sufficiently cool to admit of Europeans labouring throughout the day all the year round. The mean temperature at noon averages 68° in the hottest weather, and the coldest seldom under 38°, with frost at night during the months of December and January.

The natural consequence of so even a temperature is a most healthy climate, and these hills are one of the few places that have not been visited by cholera ; but, as I have no time here to enter fully in the description of these most beautiful mountains and their delightful climate, I must refer those who wish for further information to the late Colonel Ouchterlony's Report of them to the Madras Government, published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. xiii. No. 34, of Dec. 1848.

To show how quickly coffee-estate property increases in value, and the rapidity with which estates have been opened, in spite of the little encouragement given by Government to European settlers, I shall here give a list with an extract from the Official Report on some estates lately ordered for sale, situated in Southern Wynaad, where but a few years ago there was nothing but a deadly jungle, where even the enterprising sportsman scarcely dared to venture ; and it is within my recollection that out of a party of five, who did so on an elephant-hunting excursion, three died of jungle fever, and the other two only saved their lives by a timely trip to sea and home ; yet are these same and lately-dreaded spots now, not only turned into thriving coffee-plantations, but, under cultivation, prove to be healthy localities for both Europeans and natives.

The first on the list of the estates alluded to is the Glen-Rock Coffee

Estate, comprising 4,000 acres, of which about 250 are under cultivation, with a nursery of 100,000 seedlings ready to plant out, and with dwelling and out-houses, cattle, &c. suitable for such an estate.

This estate is valued at 180,000 rupees, or 18,000*l.*, without the then growing crop, estimated at 80 tons, and valued at about 45,000 rupees, or 4,500*l.* This estate had likewise shipping stores, &c. attached to it, situated on the coast, and with the necessary machinery for garbling, cleaning, &c.—but this portion of the estate does not appear to have been valued.

There were likewise seven other estates, viz.: Lackadie, Cooloor, Charlotte, Annette, Adelaide, The Field, and The Walloes.

These together have about 1,400 acres under plantation, yielding about 600 tons of prime marketable coffee. The money value of these estates is roughly estimated at about 150,000*l.*; but as I have full particulars (too long, however, to enter here), I shall be happy to communicate them to any one wishing for more minute information.¹

I may here remark, that my reason for having thus mentioned these estates is as well to give some *data* as in illustration of what has been done, by the English settlers and British capital, for this, to the natives of India, *terra incognita*, and which it would most likely have remained; for, though surrounded by some most populous districts, yet the only knowledge that they ever appear to have had of these mountains was one of superstitious dread, and of the Droog (at the most easterly point), kept up by the reigning power of Mysore as a place of incarceration for unfortunate state-prisoners; and the ruins of this hill-fort or goal are still there to witness that there did once exist there some sort of an extraordinary, out-of-the-way stronghold, as also the overhanging rock from which tradition asserts there was hurled many an unfortunate victim of the uncontrolled despotic sway of the ruling powers of those days.

To the sight-seer and lover of the picturesque, a visit to this long-famed point or spur is well worth the trouble of the journey; not that there is now much difficulty to be encountered, as the whole of the way from

¹ The actual number of coffee-estates now opened in Wynad cannot be far short of one hundred, of which the few above described give a fair average description, valuation, &c. There are, besides, innumerable native holdings, or gardens; and I believe that it is very little over twenty years ago since the first estate in these parts was commenced, during which period not less than 12,000 acres of the wildest and most unhealthy jungles have been brought under coffee-culture, entirely through private enterprise.

Coonnoor to it is through a continuation of beautiful coffee-plantations, which reach even up to the fatal rock, from which there is an uninterrupted view, as far as the eye can extend, of the rich grain district of Coimbatore, where, with a good glass, the people and cattle can be seen at work like so many pigmies; and for any one inclined for a *lover's leap*, one of some 7,000 or 8,000 feet could be taken into the plains below; or, again turning inland, as it were, many neatly-kept coffee-plantations meet the eye where but a very few years ago there was naught but a wilderness of jungle.

This reminds me that I must refrain from entering on the beautiful scenery of these magnificent mountains (as time will not permit me to do so), I will therefore at once proceed with their agricultural capabilities, more particularly those of the Neilgherries Proper, as, though the Wynaad ranges are undoubtedly a continuation of them, yet they are not generally considered as a part of the plateau of the Blue Mountains or Neilgherries.

Coffee-planting on these is mostly confined to the eastern and north-eastern aspects, the western and south-western being subject to far too heavy rains for the healthy growth of the berry; though the tree itself flourishes well even down on the coast of Malabar, which is perhaps the most humid climate in the world, as is the whole of the western aspect up to the Avalanche, within ten miles of Ootacamund (the principal station on these hills, and fashionable resort in the hot season), and on the Sispara, or Western Ghaut from Malabar, where 300 inches of rain has been known to fall in one monsoon; and though a coffee-plantation was opened on this side, through which the Ghaut-road passed, yet I need scarcely say that it proved a failure, though under the auspices of a well-known scientific professor.

On the eastern side, however, is to be found a climate remarkable for its clearness, and it is here, at the proper altitude, that the finest quality of coffee is grown, though the plants are not so productive as in a rather moister climate, such as is to be found on more centrally located estates.

These hills have likewise some other characteristics well worthy of the notice of the settler or agriculturist, as, at the different altitudes, almost any description of temperate climate can be obtained: for instance, at 4,000 feet frost is never known, and when cleared and under cultivation the climate of such localities is most healthy; at 6,000 feet there is seldom any frost, and neither cholera nor fever has ever been known to exist; while at 7,500 feet the climate is most bracing and exhilarating,

with, it may be said, a continuous light frost at night during the two mid-winter months ; and the temperature throughout the year on all parts of the plateau over 5,000 feet is most delightful, and admits of the employment of European out-door labourers.

It will therefore be seen that a few miles' ride will there give changes in a mild temperature not to be met with, perhaps, in any other part of the world.

The consequence of this evenly-balanced temperature on the vegetable kingdom is most surprising, and there can be seen blended every description of fruit and vegetable both of the Eastern and Western hemispheres ; and in adjoining estates coffee, tea, pepper, and all the European cereals, flourish equally, which could not, perhaps, be witnessed in any other country. Thus a homestead may be established, say at 5,000 feet altitude, which would enable a settler to dwell in an almost certain healthy climate, and mid-way between what might be termed his tropical-growing produce, such as coffee, tea, &c. &c. and his European culture, viz., wheat, barley, potatoes, and all the English kitchen-garden vegetables, and most of its fruits.

The climate is likewise most genial for animals of all classes, except sheep (on the western side at least, where too much damp cold prevails for them), but the herds of buffaloes kept by the Todawars thrive everywhere, and are perhaps the finest of their species to be met with in any part of India.

Game of all sorts is likewise plentiful, from the elk to the hare ; and birds, from the jungle-fowl to the wood-cock ; but from the absence of lakes and ponds there are no water-fowl and but few fish ; but both of these abound in the surrounding low countries, and efforts are now being made by the Madras Government, for the introduction of some foreign fish, and I believe that they have succeeded in placing some "goomerry" from the Mauritius in the Ootacamund (so called) Lake. This is a Chinese fish, (imported and acclimatized in that island), and though it is very good, yet much finer and more delicious fish are to be obtained at the foot of the Coonnor Ghaut, without either the expense or trouble of their transit from distant countries.

The breeding of poultry is not so much attended to on the hills as might have been expected, but this is easily accounted for by the great numbers that are continually being poured into the markets from the low country, from whence likewise most of the grain, as well as sheep and

cattle for consumption, are procured ; and the mode of conveyance, particularly of so heavy an article as grain, being still the primitive one of pad-donkeys and bullocks, adds somewhere about 50 per cent. to its original cost ; and, therefore, living on the hills is rendered much more expensive than it might be, had a more easy ascent been fixed upon, as the main road into them, which could easily have been found through what is generally termed the Orange Valley route ; but the only aim of the Government as yet appears to have been their easy access as a *sanitarium*, or refuge for the Madrassesees from the "grilling" and "stewing" days on the coast.

This has, no doubt, been a most praiseworthy object, yet might pleasure have been combined with duty had the authorities generally known something more of these mountains than simply their desirability as a place of resort, where, at the proper season may be found congregated the *élite* of society from the surrounding plains, with, perhaps, the most picturesque spots in the world for pic-nics, combined with excellent shooting.

It may appear to some that I have been too minute in details that might appear to them of minor importance, but, as an old soldier, I am forcibly impressed with the idea that a good commissariat is of the utmost consideration, and I feel certain that experienced coffee-planters will agree with me on this head, as being a matter much affecting their interest through the gangs of coolies employed by them on their estates ; and the dearth of grain and consequent increase of coolie-hire has done much to retard coffee-planting.¹

I have thought it necessary to dilate a little on the necessities of life, and consequent facility of working estates, as the principal object of this paper is to call the attention of capitalists to this land of promise, as yet but little known except to the few enterprising European settlers, to whom too much credit cannot be awarded for the true manly endurance with which they have for years encountered so many difficulties, amongst which, not the least, has been the want of assistance and support, &c. from the authorities ; and though it scarcely can be credited, yet it is a fact, that until very lately scarcely an effort was made by Government to furnish even a road for the ingress or egress of these hardy pioneers, a class from whom might be selected many more deserving the Star of India

¹ A third of the value of a crop is generally supposed to be sunk in keeping up an estate.

than some of those who have received it. Yet so far from that having met with consideration from the authorities, I do not believe that there has been a single instance of one of this most deserving body having ever been even appointed a magistrate, though their isolated position, being often upwards of 100 miles distant from one, or any Government official, with hordes of unruly coolies in the surrounding estates requiring the force of law to keep them in order, would, it might have been supposed on the score of prudence alone, have dictated the necessity for some resident magistrates. It cannot be either on the score of want of ability or respectability that this much demanded measure has not been carried out, as there are gentlemen to be found amongst the coffee-planters of Southern India, second to none in the empire in birth as well as education.

I should have wished to have been more explanatory in reference to the number of estates and acres actually under coffee and tea planting on the Neilgherries Proper, but owing to my having been laid up for the past month, I have been prevented from following out this subject as I might otherwise have done; however, I know that every available nook and corner has been appropriated, and a review of what I have shown in reference to Wynaad will give a very fair idea of what has been done on the Neilgherries.

The Shevaroy Hills, near Salem, may be said to be entirely under coffee. As to tea-planting, though it is only in its infancy in Southern India, yet there is every reason for believing that it will be a success.

Its first introduction near Coonnoor was by Captain Mann, of the Indian Navy; but he was so discouraged by the many impediments thrown in his way by the prejudices of the Government official then in authority in the Coimbatore district, that for years he relinquished it almost in despair, but has, I believe, of late again proceeded with its cultivation, &c.; and I have tasted some tea of the growth of this plantation, of a very good quality.

Now, gentlemen, although I fear that I may not have been quite so successful as I might have been in laying before you the capabilities of the hills of Southern India, still I trust that I have shown that they hold a fair place both agriculturally and commercially; and I suppose that I need hardly tell you that the Neilgherry and Wynaad coffee is fast gaining a high character in the European markets; nor that the half of the coffee sold as "Mocha" in the English market is from those parts.

I shall only now further add that the great drawback to coffee-growing,

as well as to all else in India, including improvements, &c., has been the want of capital; let but that *desideratum* to its advancement be fairly thrown into the Indian market, and not held back as it is now so strangely and unaccountably, and the Eastern empire will vie, if not surpass, all others in the growth as well as the manufacture of most articles of food, as well as of clothing.

I must now conclude this subject for the present, fearing that I may have already trespassed too long on your patience, only adding, that for the want of time I purposely restricted myself to export produce, yet is there a wide field and many large markets within reach for the more homely products of potatoes and other vegetables, with railways at hand to convey them to most parts—and Madras is now so principally supplied; and I have long been of opinion that dairy farms would pay well, with a piggery and ham and bacon-curing department attached.

The CHAIRMAN—I am sure we all feel very much indebted to Colonel Haly for bringing so important a subject before us. It is one on which the welfare of India very much depends; it is one that the welfare of Europeans in a very great degree depends on. The hill country is the only part of India which it is possible for this country to colonize. The great *desideratum* for the hill plantations is simply communication. We do not want Government assistance; we are quite able to carry on the cultivation, and to compete with the whole world, because, I believe, at the present moment tea, cinchona, and coffee can be produced in India at very much less cost than anywhere else; unquestionably coffee can be produced at a cost quite 30 per cent. below what it can be produced at in Ceylon, and certainly much below the cost at which it can be produced in any other large coffee-producing country. But the great drawback is want of communication. I do not mean to complain of the Government not having done more than they have done in the way of opening up communications, they have expressed their willingness to do it, and they are doing a good deal, but not nearly what is required, not nearly what might be done with the same amount of money, if it was done by practical men, and men who would know how it ought to be laid out. Supposing one of our own counties was to be left for its main turnpike roads, and still more for its local roads, to a central board sitting in London, in what position would our communications be? But such is the state of things, at this present moment, in the hill-countries. There is too little attention paid to the representations of the associations now formed by the planters, who are men of knowledge, men of position, men of family, and men of as honourable bearing as any in the service; and they ought to be more trusted to lay out the money that is coming to the Government out of their own pockets. I will state a simple fact, which I have just been looking into, in consequence of two hours ago having received newspapers from India, complaining very much of the non-fulfilment of promises made by the Government to have roads opened. If we take an estate of say 300 acres (which is the most eligible size of an

estate for economical management), the tax to the Government upon that estate amounts to 600 rupees. That is paid with the understanding that the money shall be laid out in improving the communications of the locality. The carriage of the crop of that estate, which would amount at a moderate estimate to 100 tons, costs at the present moment 5,000 rupees, and the cost of the carriage of the manure which would be required to keep the estate in proper order after it has become a few years old, would be another 5,000 rupees; the total cost, therefore, of the carriage of the crop downwards, and the manure upwards, amounts to 10,000 rupees per annum, while the tax to the Government is 600 rupees. If roads were made down the Ghauts, which in most of the different localities do not exceed five miles, the cartage could be done in a much shorter time, with much less loss of weight, for 2,000 rupees, making a difference, upon that little estate of 300 acres, of no less than 8,000 rupees per annum upon carriage alone, or nearly equal to £2 14s. per acre, which is a very handsome rental for any estate in England or Scotland. All that would be required would be to capitalize the amount of tax which we pay to the Government, and allow us to make the roads. I myself, and I believe every other planter, were we allowed to do it, would be very happy to treble our tax to get the roads. You see that one single year's saving, if the roads were made, would permit of our paying a tax four times the present amount, if it were necessary. The money thus raised should be expended, under Government supervision certainly, but by a committee of proprietors of the different districts. It shows what the hill-country is capable of when we find coffee-planting so profitable as it is, notwithstanding this drawback. But when you come to the Neilgherries Proper, the table-land, where any fruit and any grain of European growth can be grown most advantageously, that drawback acts as an absolute prohibition to the cultivation of those things. You cannot export your grain, because the carriage alone comes to be its value. You cannot export your fruit for the same reason. It is only cinchona, tea, and coffee, which are so very valuable per ton, which can be advantageously cultivated, so long as the carriage is so heavy, and the length of time occupied is so great as it is at present. It would astonish you if I were to tell you the number of bullocks required to carry down a single crop of one of those estates, and the length of time it takes to go down and up again: it takes about 150 bullocks to do what one good horse in this country will do. As a planter, and as representing the planting interest out there, I feel much indebted to Colonel Haly for having brought this subject before us. It only requires a little pressure from home to get attention paid to a matter of such very great importance to England as regards colonization, and the means of advantageous employment for its subjects.

Colonel HALY—No people have been worse treated than the planters of Southern India. Others have made themselves heard somehow or other.

Mr. POWYS—Cannot we, as a body, take some steps in the matter?

The CHAIRMAN—I shall write by the next mail, and request the planters at the different associations, now that the matter has been taken up, to meet and send home a petition and remonstrance. Now that proprietors are investing their capital in the soil, and holding titles of the soil from the Government, it is but fair and just, that the local roads of the district should be placed under the proprietors of that

district as they are here. The proprietors would carry out the work at a third of the expense under the present arrangement. It would be for the advantage of the Government to have the roads properly opened, for more land would be taken into cultivation. Another drawback is that the Madras Government have charged the full tax of two rupees per acre, the moment the land is handed over to the planter—which is an unjust thing, and most impolitic, because it is making a man pay for jungle before he has had time to make it productive. If the man had the land for say three years free from tax, and you then gradually raised the tax, giving him five or six years before you charged the full amount, he would take a larger quantity of land from the Government, and plant more extensively. That has been the case in Bengal—Madras seems behind the other Presidencies, they are grasping at too much.

Mr. POWYS—Have you heard anything about the “borer?”

The CHAIRMAN—The manager of my estates and his partner were applied to by the Government when it first appeared, and they stated then their decided opinion, that it would be found that it would not seriously hurt healthy and well-managed estates; that it only affected trees in an unhealthy and half-dry state; and that it was principally owing to the planters opening out the land into grass-land, without leaving a fringe of trees which the borer lived upon. Where such a fringe of trees has been left, the plantations have not suffered. But I have received to-day accounts by the mail from India and Ceylon, stating that one very great cause of the noise that was made in the papers about the borer, was for the purpose of reducing the value of a great many estates then in the market, by parties interested in purchasing them. The planters now seem, by the letters I have received by this post and the former post to apprehend little or no damage from the borer. The opinion of those two gentlemen, to whom I have referred, proves to have been so far well founded that in not one of the many estates which those gentlemen manage has the borer shown itself.

Mr. POWYS—How do they get rid of it where it appears?

The CHAIRMAN—The moment they see it on a tree they cut down the tree and burn it; it does not affect the root; they live upon the dying wood of the jungle; and if the jungle is all cleared away, they have nothing to live upon, and therefore they come upon the coffee-trees.

A vote of thanks to Colonel Haly, moved by Mr. Powys, was carried unanimously.

AFTERNOON MEETING, TUESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1868.

Colonel SYKES, M.P. IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Paper was read by the Secretary for CAPTAIN CHADWICK, who was unavoidably absent, entitled :—

THE FURLOUGH REGULATIONS OF THE INDIAN ARMY.

For many years now, the Indian papers have come to hand, filled with the earnest and touching appeals of Indian officers for a liberal, far-seeing, and final adjustment of the rules to govern their future sick-leave, furlough, and retiring pensions. And, as it is now currently obtaining, that the Viceroy has urged the repeal and liberal amendment of existing laws upon the subject, and that Government, accepting gracefully the necessity, is prepared, once and for ever, equitably, and in a justly generous spirit, to model them anew—it behoves us to give a careful attention to the rules as they now obtain, point out the anomalies and injustices that require sweeping away, and view in a liberal but not exacting light concessions that seem desirable, in order to place officers of her Majesty's Indian Army on a fair and parallel footing with their brethren in her Majesty's other non-purchase corps, viz., Royal Engineers, Artillery, and Marines, ever weighing in favour of the Indian Service this consideration, that whereas the service of the more fortunate brethren of the above-quoted corps may be *hic ubique per mare, per terras*, or in other words *quo fas et gloria ducunt*, that of the Indian officer is strictly limited to her Majesty's Indian possessions. No Woolwich, no Chatham, no Gibraltar, Aldershot, Jersey, or Galway for him. Every day over two years in twenty that he indulges in a less fiery climate, or indeed, in leave *even in* that fiery furnace, he must serve over again, be the cause his energy, devotedness to the service, and consequent sickness, or urgent private affairs of his own or his relatives. So reluctant is a man, who has had his two years of bread, to the intolerable deal of sack, to come back again

upon sick-leave, that it is often too late for his employers, when he is driven to return, and they receive for his life, the services of a broken-down man, who might have tendered a vigorous labour for his pay, had a short-sighted policy not rendered penal the only way by which his failing health might in time have been restored. Few are conversant with India and with an Indian connexion, who cannot tell off upon their fingers many an acquaintance or friend who "could not afford to chuck their appointments," or "had been home over their two years before," and died, rather than incur the penalty prescribed for those who seek, not only their own benefit, but the good of the service that employs them. An officer of Engineers or Artillery, even if serving in India, can, after he has been out there three years, obtain leave to England, but an Indian officer, unless absolutely so ill as to require it, must wait until his furlough is due after ten years (when he must pay his own passage home and out, and resign his staff appointments), nor, as a rule (to which there are a few exceptions as proofs), can he hope ever to be on duty this side of Aden, or share the hundred and one advantages home service holds out.

The infancy of the furlough regulations, now perpetuated into second childhood, had its spring and source in the days when an Indiaman took from five to eight months on the voyage, and when there were very few officers to very large battalions of Sepoys, when war was chronic, and field service the normal condition of the small band who composed the Indian Army. Even then, our honourable masters were mindful of their servants whilst carefully guarding themselves from loss in the transaction; so they enacted that, *although* England being too far off, and a place they by no means desired to encourage their officers in visiting, yet any officer sick or entitled to furlough, if he would forego the long journey to and fro that a visit to England necessitated, might take change of air to the Cape, Australia, New Zealand, or Egypt, or try the Neilgherries or Himalayas without diminution of pay, or the loss of a day's service.

The furlough rules were altered in 1854, and the Zoar to flee unto when stricken by the climate, has been removed, and the most stringent rules have taken their place—which rules every officer in the Staff Corps (nine out of ten), or holding a staff appointment, *must* adopt. Thus in the present year, when an officer can be in England and make the return journey in less time than it formerly took to reach the Cape; when the service has been handed over with India to the Crown, and a desire is believed to exist that the officers should labour no more under invidious distinction

of bygone days, the only amendment in all the old rule has been, that an officer may count either on sick-leave, or upon furlough, two years not actually on duty, but at rest away from harness, out of twenty ! But for this privilege, which is compulsory on nearly every person, the price paid is, that every day over two months' privilege leave (to be obtained only during fixed leave months), whether *in* India or the rest of the world, whether on sick-leave, furlough, or on urgent private affairs, counts against the final retirement on pension of the unhappy individual whose liver, private affairs, or desire to step with the march of intellect at home, will not be content with two years' leave out of twenty.

The former pleasant shooting trips, exploring expeditions (whereby gain was wrought to the State), visits to the celebrated places in India, and interminglings with the brother officers at sister presidencies, are at an end ; and let a zealous officer but overwork himself after once having exceeded his two years' leave, and forthwith every day and hour of his leave is alike piled into one huge addition sum, the total to be deducted from his service for pension. Should his health fail him, unfortunately, for more than the prescribed period, the said loss of health in the pursuit of his lawful vocation exposed to the effects of a hot and unfriendly climate, he is visited with the punishment of his misfortune, by having his pension removed from his grasp by just so many months or days he has taken to recover ; and thus the more he suffers in health, doing his duty to the best of his ability and constitution, the more heavily and severely is it visited upon him as if it was a sin. Few and far between occur the names of those officers who have *not* been forced home sick ; still fewer are those who, on return from sick-leave can avail themselves of the furlough they may claim after a further residence of six years, for Government allows no officer home or out, if on furlough, a passage ; and nowadays an officer must hold an high appointment, or be of colonel's rank, to save enough to render furlough advisable if a married man ; and even if pecuniarily feasible, ten to one he has already devoured his cake, and cannot afford to give Government more time over again. Should an officer be possessed of the highest class of merit that now obtains in India, a sound liver, and iron constitution, and have been twenty-five years in harness, should he hold an appointment too good for a poor man to relinquish, and wish to revisit his native country, the furlough rules only permit him six months' leave retaining his appointment ; if he wishes unreasonably for more, he must vacate—say a political appointment in which he has gained him-

self credit, done the State some service and they know it, and of all the ins and outs of whose politics he holds the keys and master mind—sooner than give him air, breath, freedom, and a look at his birthplace after a quarter of a century, the furlough rules would compel *him*, to lose his berth, and the Government to lose *his* services, and alter all the appointments that were working so well, as existent.

It is indeed no exorbitant demand to hope that the present ventilation of the musty rules of old may obtain for the service one year—in every seven of service—on furlough with full pay, and the privilege of a passage home and on return in the new troop-steamers at the Government rates; the abolition of the cruel enactment of sick-leave counting against pension, which does not obtain in the case of any other service, and is still less applicable to that of the Indian officer, who knows no change of scene or clime during his service, but must begin and end it in India. It is true that since 1857 it has been ruled that sickness contracted by wounds or exposure shall free the sick-leave of the penalty attached to it, but this is not enough. An officer may have been through the whole of the mutiny, exposure, hardship, and fatigue notwithstanding, and be well; and yet three or four more years' residence in the country may add the one straw to the camel's back, and when he goes home with liver or dysentery, it will be as much real exposure and hardship encountered in the execution of his duty that will take him there; but no friendly *Ægis* will be extended in his case to shield him from the doom of serving his time over again on his return to India. This is no far-fetched supposition, but the true exposition of the case of hundreds who were during various campaigns, surveys, &c., much exposed, but did not feel it to tell on them for some years; whilst those who fortunately fell sick *during* the campaign, survey, &c., reaped the benefit of the saving clause, which ought henceforth to be made to embrace all who, from no fault of their own, are compelled to seek a change of climate to remedy disease contracted in serving their country faithfully. After fifteen years' service, every officer might be permitted to retire upon the half-pay of his rank, an arrangement that would greatly save to Government, and ease their embarrassment at the present time. The same time should be conceded to officers on furlough for the retention of their staff appointments, as is at present allowed to those upon sick-leave. These boons will be life and encouragement to a drooping service, while the concessions are neither disproportioned to the advantages enjoyed by their brethren of the before-

named services, nor are they exorbitant to grant to men who leave home and kindred to work *for a certainty* all the days of their service in our Indian empire.

Taking the case of an officer of either of the three non-purchase corps alluded to. It is but rarely, save of late years, that either of them have served in India *at all*, but even though they do serve there, when they fall sick, when they are lucky enough to get leave, their acceptance of the boon is not clogged or embittered by the thought that they have to make good every day spent in getting health or enjoyment on their return to India. The engineer has Chatham, the artilleryman Woolwich, the marine either of them, with fifty other places to which all three have a chance of being sent to serve, if they desire not to return at all. Have they not all the world before them where to choose, or to accept if chosen for them, as likely Canada or the Mediterranean, if not the United Kingdom, depôts to go to, ships, batteries, as the case may be, to give them change, *and*, by the provisions of the warrant recommended by the late Royal Commission, a pension that is *not* contingent on *where* they serve, or the number of times that they have been fortunate enough to obtain leave during that service.

It is as well known to the authorities as is patent to those upon the spot, that the efficiency of the Indian Army is now seriously hampered and impaired by the enforced idleness of a large number of field-officers "doing general duty," and of captains and subalterns "attached" to regiments. The duties of the former may or may not *even* consist in membership of one court-martial per month, and sitting as often president of a court of inquiry to ascertain the cause of decease of defunct elephant, bullock, or undue life in biscuit or salt pork. The duties of the "attached officer" are nominally what may be invented through the indigestive dreams, or fertile brains of the officer commanding the regiment. Real duties there are none, and although the C. O. may, and often does render the position doubly unpleasant, no power can make it a pleasant or a coveted berth. It is a position alike unfair to the officer, his commanding officer, the State, and to the *morale* of the army at large. It speaks well for them, the lingering scent of former palmier days having still enveloped them to the exclusion of constant courts martial and summary removals, for a state more inviting to evil from idleness, and absence of incentive to good, cannot be imagined or described. Without an option, deprived of even the charge of a company, captains in name only, without a chance of

learning or keeping up their knowledge of their profession, they are torn from amongst the men they governed and knew, to the detriment of both, and either transplanted to take no share in the government of a stranger corps, but in mockery to be with it for no purpose ; or still worse, to be left with their old regiment, strangers sitting in the high places, all power for good reft from *their* hands, and an impotent shrug of the shoulders their only answer to appeals from the men who have known them from beardless boys. That this is no overcharged picture, hundreds of voices are ready to assert in every varied accent of helplessness and hopelessness.

Why not do one of many things to remedy this crying evil ? Give them the chance of retiring temporarily on a befitting pay (say save the State *one* third, and give them *two* thirds of their present pay), with liability to be called on to serve when wanted. Surely more improvement will be wrought on them by retiring gracefully, to mingle with the world, than by keeping them, eating their hearts out at a great expense, in lone corners of our Indian empire. Or if the retention of claim to their services is not desirable, put on the clock as a special case, grant them proportionate pensions, as in the case of the Indian Navy, and an enormous saving to the public will be effected, whilst the boon will be hailed with universal joy by those who, without duties to perform or take an interest in, are dragging on their existence, nailed to one point of our Indian possessions, without object, hope, energy of purpose, or any good accruing to the State from their strange unhappy position.

Many officers who are fortunate enough to have served their time for pension, are deterred from retiring by the fact of the bonus question being still unsettled. For two-thirds of their service, with the approval of Government officially expressed, they had stinted themselves of the enjoyments of life to pay heavy monthly instalments to buy out their seniors, hoping and trusting in the good faith they entertained of the Government they served, that when their day of retirement came they, too, should have a little sum to invest in a cottage, furniture, and a nest-egg for a rainy day. But these hopes have been cruelly and arbitrarily blasted by the decision of the Secretary of State, nor has the recent ordering or assembly of committees at the Presidency done anything for the aggrieved except expend a useless salary on a secretary at each Presidency, in order to show officers that they were rather in debt to Government than in a position to hope for anything in the way of refund. As it is not the purpose of this paper to dwell upon the bonus question, further than to glance at it as

affecting the retirement of hundreds, nay, of nearly all officers, it will be left, in the hopes of its receiving the separate attention of the Association, as a large and grave question requiring grave handling and involving large interests. The question now, which invites present discussion here, the consideration of Government, and the attention of the House, is, how best the existing effete and obsolete furlough and retiring rules may be amended, so as at the least cost to the nation to restore and further the efficiency of the Indian Army, with due regard to the interests of the employer and the welfare of the employed.

That they have more officers than they can employ at present, and that many of the unemployed officers would gladly retire, to the saving of the State and the efficiency of the army, is patent; but when we superadd that, allowing the present cumberers half or even two-thirds of their pay and allowances to retire on, a broad margin of profit will be left to the State, it is to be believed that no expediency to the contrary can stand in the way of boldly grappling and dealing with the matter; but the army has been kept waiting so patiently and so long in the hopes of better days that it is trusted the wheels may this time be set in motion with expedition, and no more long years roll over the heads of the officers in whose behalf we urge.

Short leaves in India should no more be made to count against an officer out there, than it does against his brother in any other non-purchase corps; and sick-leaves, the fruits of his bitter enemy the climate, no longer entail a fresh rolling of the stone, ever to fall backwards when near the top; for be it remembered that by demanding the service over again, Government ignore the fresh energy, recruited health, and renewed power of work which an officer from England brings to bear upon his duties, and which it is only fair, that the master, and not the servant should pay for—the loss at the time being a gain in the end to the Government. Besides, the other non-purchase officers, with 99 per cent. more of opportunities to recruit and keep their health, are not so hardly dealt with, therefore it cannot be either necessary or expedient in the case of an enforced residence for a much longer time than they ever (unless from choice) endure.

With the prices of all things more than doubled since the mutiny, never were Indian officers so pushed to compass the duty of living as gentlemen on their pay. And it must be remembered that for the bait of a majority in the future, certain hundreds of captains have given up a large

portion of their pay by entering the Staff Corps ; and although this is not touched upon to be shown a hardship, being done with the eyes open, yet that premeditation will not make a certain sum of money go farther than it can, and it is very certain that the struggle for a Staff Corps captain to maintain his position as a gentleman (unless a bachelor) is a hard one ; and it behoves a great Government in dealing with its servants' wants and necessities as set forth in this paper, to remember that all the boons and privileges prayed for herein are marks of a healthy craving for more frequent opportunities of revisiting England to the invigoration of bodily health and the improvement of the mind, both to be used with renewed activity for the employer's benefit on their return, and not mere querulous and groundless grumbings from discontent on the part of the Indian officers ; and that in order to facilitate the fulfilment of their desire, taking into consideration the poverty of officers, the enormous cost of passages and the ability of Government, by the introduction on the line of trooping steamers, the boon of passages at Government rates is earnestly sought for by officers on sick-leave (unprovided with passage) and furlough for themselves and families.

As examples of how strictly and stringently, the present retiring rules are enforced, the following instances are quoted. An officer long upon the invalid establishment, and of twenty-seven years' service, would have been entitled to his captain's pension in *less* than a month, when he was so ill that the doctors sent him to Europe. There being no discretionary power vested with anybody in the matter, that officer sailed, at an enormous expense to a married man, for India last year, to put in twenty-eight days service, all of which time he could stay at a hotel, or had it been longer, performed the active duties of an invalid officer. A major of the locals had served his time for the pension of his rank when he came home sick ; whilst in England he is promoted to lieutenant-colonel, but to retire on that rank he must return to India and report his arrival. A captain of the Staff Corps, nearly eighteen years' service, receives his promotion to major, and is anxious on account of failing health to retire upon half-pay, but unless he went out to India (when on arrival he could not *claim* his half-pay) he can only retire on the half-pay of a captain.

While this paper is in preparation, the *Times* informs us that the Committee sitting at Simla has sent in its proposed revision of the furlough regulations, and that it is in course of being forwarded home by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India ; but, unless we are misinformed, the amendment is

but slight, and it were well that the whole were framed anew to suit the age and spirit of the times, instead of patched piecemeal; and above all it would be advantageous to the public and the officers, were the matter given free ventilation in the House of Commons, where the absurdity and want of economy and justice in the old rules will be found so glaring, that concessions will be freely made, the road to retirement smoothed for the unemployed, and just compensation being made to the heavy losers by the withdrawal of the bonus, the machinery, which has got a little rusted and out of gear, will again work freely and uncomplainingly as of yore, and still prove a nursery and trial-ground for a race of soldiers such as India has produced.

Captain PALMER—I would wish to mention one fact—at the same time as we have articles appearing in the public prints urging that greater liberality should be shown towards officers of the Indian Army—there comes home from India a copy of an order issued from the India Office, which, instead of being more liberal, curtails the privileges which have hitherto been accorded to those officers I allude to. Formerly, military officers in civil employ had one month's leave in a twelvemonth, which was cumulative up to three months after three years' service, and they were allowed to come to Europe during the three months' leave of absence; but, within the last two months, orders have been issued in India, stating that that privilege has been withdrawn from those officers. That shows the spirit of illiberality which guides the councils of the India Office, and shows how necessary it is for the Association to take some measures to try and induce them to be more liberal towards officers of the Indian Army.

General NORTH—I think it would be as well to bring to your notice the article in to-day's *Times*. I suppose if the author of the paper had been present he would have made some allusion to it. It seems that the Report of the Committee which assembled at Simla, to which allusion is made in his paper, has been sent home, and the recommendations of that Committee are given in the article. It says:—"We believe the principal recommendations of the Committee are as follows—leave to England with retention of appointment, in the military service two years, in the civil service three years." It may be noticed here that Sir John Lawrence desired the Committee to frame a set of rules which should be applicable to all public servants. The recommendations, therefore, concern both services, though the hardship under the present system is felt principally by military officers. The Committee recommends, in the second place: "That pay should be allowed at the rate of fifty per cent. of the acting allowances of the absentee, subject to a maximum of £1,200 per annum, and a minimum of £300 for civil, and £250 for military persons; the leave on medical certificate is to be extended to two and three years with retention of appointment; a change is to be made in the periods after which furlough can be obtained, to consist in the civil department of two years after eight years, and one after every subsequent four years, of residence; in the military, of two years after eight years, and one after every subsequent six years of service in India; there must be service for at least three

years after return from leave in Europe, before fresh leave to Europe can be taken without pay being stopped; the limitation of the total absence of a military officer out of India to be eight years on pay, including leave on sick certificate. The Committee also recommends the extension to civil servants of the privilege of taking six months' leave of absence after intervals of six years without pay, and the power of uniting privilege leave with such leave. These are the main alterations in the present system proposed by the Committee, and they certainly seem reasonable and just. They will not appreciably add to the burdens on the country, and they will tend to save our most valuable material—the lives of the men who administer or defend British India." It is a pity that Captain Chadwick is not present to give us his views regarding that scheme of which, I suppose, those are the principal details—we might have heard from him whether they would, in his opinion, meet the wishes of the service generally or not; but it appears to me that we might, perhaps, by application to the India Office, be favoured with a copy of the recommendations of this Committee for the information of officers generally, and for our own information, so that the Association might be able to see whether any amendment of it might be proposed before anything definite was settled in the India Office about it.

The CHAIRMAN—I do not observe that Captain Chadwick has alluded at all to the old furlough regulations still in existence. They granted three years' leave of absence on sick certificate, and the officers lost their appointments. I have had personal experience of those regulations, which exist to this moment. Several officers are now at home under the old regulations—they get two and a-half years' pay; and, before returning to India they get an advance of the remaining six months' pay. In ancient days all leave to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope was granted to officers without loss of appointments. There is no doubt that the time that is required to come from India to England now is less absolutely than was formerly occupied in the voyage from India to the Cape of Good Hope; therefore there is no substantial reason for refusing to officers in these days that which was granted to officers in ancient days, viz. the retention of their appointments while on sick-leave. If that be part of the proposal of the Committee, it would be only just and proper that it should take effect. With regard to the article in the *Times*, the *Times* is pretty well informed upon almost all matters that are in progress, and, therefore, I think it very likely that the statements in the *Times* are founded in fact. I do not see that there could be any difficulty on the part of the authorities at the India Office in furnishing the Association with a copy of that report. If the Association applied to the India Office, through its president, for a copy, I have no doubt that it would be given, but if not given, the House of Commons will meet shortly, and I feel certain that it will not be refused there. Under these circumstances, I think we can do no more at the present moment than offer our thanks to the author of the paper for his communication; and though I cannot say I go altogether with him in some of his views, yet, on the whole, I think he deserves the thanks of his brother officers for raising the question. It is always advantageous when there is a grievance, or an injustice, or an insufficiency of fulfilment of expectations, that the question should be raised and publicly discussed. I do not think on the present occasion it is necessary to say more, as no doubt the recommendations of the Committee will be fully discussed both in

the House of Commons and elsewhere. Allusion has been made to the number of officers without employment in India. What is stated is quite true. I have asked for returns of the number and, strange as it may appear, in consequence of the promotion of all officers after fixed periods of service (12 years to be a captain, 20 years to be a major, 26 years to be a lieutenant-colonel and so on), the time is fast approaching as they are not filling up vacancies, when there will be nothing but field officers in the Indian Army, and I have called the attention of the Secretary of State to that. I have called for a return of the number of officers attached to regiments in the expedition to Abyssinia who are strangers to the regiments. There have been some most imprudent, and I would say mischievous, attachment of officers to regiments now in Abyssinia, who decidedly have not served with the regiments before, and between whom and the men there can be no sympathy,—such a mode of officering regiments is dangerous, at all events impolitic. I know an instance at this moment of a regiment in Abyssinia which has but one of its original officers with it, all the rest being strangers to the regiment. What sympathy, what attachment between men and officers can there be when men are so associated with strangers? I hope and trust that such an impolitic mode of proceeding will no longer be adopted, and I hope and trust, too, that in future the regiments in India will be properly officered, for without a sufficiency of officers a native regiment is inefficient. Natives will go anywhere where they are led, but it requires Europeans to lead them, and when properly officered they will go anywhere. At the siege of Bhurtpore, the 12th Bengal Infantry passed the 76th in the trenches, mounted the breach, and planted their colours on the bastion, led by their officers; and they will do that at all times and under all circumstances if properly led. By the attachment of only six officers to a regiment, and those not necessarily the officers that have served with them all their lives, between whom and the men there can be no sympathy, native troops are rendered inefficient, if not dangerous.

A vote of thanks to Captain CHADWICK was carried unanimously.

The SECRETARY announced that fifty-two members (five of them being life-members) had joined the Association since his last announcement of additional members. He also called attention to the fact that though the Association now consisted of 520 members, only ninety had subscribed anything towards the Journal. The two numbers of the Journal published last year had cost £143, while the total receipts had been only £30. It would be impossible to carry on the Journal, the circulation of which was the principal means whereby the Association hoped to benefit all classes in India, if the members did not support it. He also announced that a Committee Meeting would take place in the course of the week with respect to the East India Association Banquet. It was proposed that the banquet should take place on the 18th or 25th of March, at Willis's Rooms, that the price of the tickets should be twenty-five shillings—that each member should be allowed to purchase a second ticket for a friend, and that if more than 100 tickets should be taken, the Secretary of State for India, and some other statesmen connected with India should be invited to attend. After the meeting of the Committee a circular would be sent to members with a request that those who wished to attend should send in their names as early as possible.

On the motion of General North, seconded by Captain Palmer, a vote of thanks to the Chairman was passed unanimously.

EVENING MEETING, FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1863.

THE EARL OF KELLIE IN THE CHAIR.

A PAPER was read by E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., entitled :—

THE REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE CHAIRMAN—Ladies and Gentlemen, we have met together this evening for the purpose of hearing a Paper read on the Representation of India in the Imperial Parliament. It is a question of very great moment indeed, one that causes much interest to all those connected with India, whether natives or not, and I think it ought also to cause great interest in those who are at present in Parliament unconnected with India. Of course I am not prepared at present, and I think few can be, to give a very decided opinion on the question how the country should be represented in Parliament; but we should be very much obliged to any gentleman who will explain his views upon the subject, and I hope that any of those who may agree or disagree with Mr. Eastwick, who has been so kind as to prepare a Paper on the subject, will, whether members of this society or not, discuss the subject fully. With these few remarks, I beg to ask Mr. Eastwick to be so good as to read his paper.

ON the 1st of September next, the Act of the 21st and 22d Victoria, cap. 106, for the better Government of India, by which the powers of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown, will have been in force ten years. There has been sufficient time, therefore, to enable Parliament to judge of the merits of the present system of governing India, and, under any circumstances, a debate on the subject might be looked for in the approaching session. But, already, several influential members of the House of Commons have expressed opinions in favour of important alterations, and on the 13th of August last year, in reply to Mr. Ayrton, the Secretary of State for India, pledged himself in the following words to discuss the proposed changes: "I am in correspondence with the Governor-General and others on the several points that have been raised, and I can promise the honourable member that when we meet

next session, he will find that I have not neglected the subject, and I shall then be prepared to discuss the matter with him, if he thinks fit to bring it under the notice of the House." Lord Cranborne, in the same debate, stated his opinion of "the importance of over-hauling, both here and in India, the machinery by which that great dependency is governed," and Mr. Mill declared that the Secretary of State "would be expected to bring forward a measure which might effect changes in the machinery of the Government of India."

After such announcements, it would seem to be desirable that this Association, which has for its object "the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the interests and welfare of India," should lose no time in arranging and embodying in resolutions its own views on the changes in the Government of India it may consider desirable, in order that it may be in a position to endeavour to influence the Legislature in favour of them. I suppose, that it will not be questioned that in matters relating to India the opinions of this Association are not unworthy of consideration, even by the Imperial Parliament. The task of governing India by Parliament, is by all admitted to be difficult; by some, as Mr. Mill, it is thought to be almost impracticable. "Such a form of government," says that profound thinker, "is not only a despotism, but the despotism 'of those, who neither hear, nor see, nor know anything about their subjects.'"¹ He adds that, "the real causes which determine the prosperity or wretchedness, the improvement or deterioration, of the Hindûs, are too far off to be within ken of the English. They have not the knowledge necessary for suspecting the existence of those causes, much less for judging of their operation."² But this Association is composed, not only of Englishmen who have made India their peculiar study, but of a large body of the most intelligent and best educated Indians themselves. It is in the power of these native gentlemen to supply information, which cannot, perhaps, be obtained from any other source; and it is to be hoped that they will not let slip this important opportunity of making known their sentiments and those of their countrymen. Even if no other end should be attained by the expression of their opinions, the natives of India will at least have evinced their patriotic feelings, and done their best to take a part in measures which affect the great interests of their country; and we

¹ Considerations on Representative Government, p. 331.

² Ibid, p. 333.

know that in this way alone the national intelligence can be educated, and a true love of country be developed.

Among the changes which have already found advocates here, and which I for one hope will find wider support both here and in Parliament, are some which may be classed generally under the head "Representation." At present India is wholly unrepresented. The government of that great dependency, unlike that of any other dependency of the British Crown, is a despotism, benevolent and paternal certainly, but still an absolute despotism. Now we have been told on the high authority of Mr. Mill, that, "the only choice the case admits is a choice of despotism,"¹ and, no doubt, weighty arguments are adduced in support of that opinion. Still the very name of despotism is so odious to Englishmen, that it is only natural that the difficult problem of how to temper our despotic government of India by some admixture of representative institutions, should be again and again anxiously weighed, and that the hope of striking out some new idea on the subject should not be altogether laid aside. In that hope I have asked permission to bring the question of the Representation of India in the Imperial Parliament under your notice this night, and in doing so, I propose to discuss preliminarily the subject of the Representation of India in India; because if a representative form of government were possible there, the representation of India in the British Parliament would lose much of its importance.

"The ideally best form of government," says Mr. Mill, "is the representative."² I suppose that, here at least, this statement will be admitted to be true. Representative institutions are twice blest. They act beneficially, inasmuch as, to use the words of the authority just named, "they are a means, of bringing the general standard of intelligence and honesty existing in the community, and the individual intellect and virtue of its wisest members more directly to bear upon the government, and investing them with greater influence in it, than they would in general have under any other mode of organization;"³ and they react with no less advantage on the governed, by assigning to them a share, however small, of public duty, and introducing their minds "to thoughts and feelings extending beyond individuals."⁴ By representative institutions which imply a participation, to a certain extent, in public functions, a citizen is taught

¹ Considerations on Representative Government, p. 331.

² Ibid. p. 45.

³ Ibid. p. 32.

⁴ Ibid. p. 67.

"to weigh interests not his own; to be guided in case of conflicting claims by another rule than his private partialities; to apply at every turn principles and maxims which have for the reason of their existence the common good; and he usually finds associated with him in the same work minds more familiarized than his own with those ideas and operations whose study it will be to supply reasons to his understanding, and stimulation to his feeling for the general interest."¹ It is no wonder, then, that in this country, where every form of government has been so long and so incessantly discussed, representative institutions should have come to be regarded, not only as the best, but as the only possible institutions for free men. We are not surprised to find that, as Mr. Hallam assures us, it had become, so long back as the thirteenth century, a constitutional maxim, "that all who possessed landed or moveable property ought, as free men, to be bound by no laws, and especially by no taxation, to which they had not consented through their representatives."² This sentiment, indeed, had become so engraven in the hearts of Englishmen, that in the early charters given to the founders of our American colonies, "representative government was seldom expressly granted, it was assumed by the colonies as a matter of right."³

Such being the case as regards Englishmen, we cannot wonder that those natives of India, who have been educated by the study of our best authors, and who have imbibed English sentiments, some of them from associating with Englishmen in India, others by visiting this country, should be eager to participate in institutions here so highly prized. Their eagerness to be governed as we are is natural, and equally so their consequent impatience at the objections raised on account of the unfitness of their countrymen for such a form of government, and of the probability that, were it conceded, India would be dis severed from this country. I propose, therefore, to examine the two questions—first, Is India prepared to receive representative institutions? and, secondly, If they were granted to India could the union between that country and England be maintained, and if not, does justice and expediency require that the grant should be made at the expense of a rupture?

Now, with regard to the first point, we find that no less an authority than Lord Macaulay has declared, that, by "universal acknowledgement,"

¹ Constitutional History, vol. ii. p. 68.

² Ibid. p. 196.

³ Merivale's "Lectures on Colonization," p. 103.

India is not at present fitted to receive representative government. To test this assertion by anything like an inductive process is, of course, impossible, and all that can be done is to adduce the evidence of a few of the most eminent authorities. None, indeed, have given direct testimony on this head, but indirectly their statements may be considered conclusive, as they prove that the universal tendency of the Indian mind is towards despotism, and that in India the masses have not emerged from the ignorance and barbarism of the early ages of the world. I must particularly observe that, in making the citations that follow, I am merely bringing together some of the statements that, I suppose, would have weight with the public in England. It is on that account that I feel myself obliged to argue from them, though I am in no way bound to endorse them. The first authority I shall quote is Professor Horace Wilson, a warm friend of the Hindús, but who says of them, "By the character of their institutions, and by the depressing influence of foreign subjugation, they are what they were at least three centuries before the Christian era."¹ The historian, Mr. Mill, declares that despotism is inherent in the very nature of the Hindú system. "Among the Hindús," he says, "according to the Asiatic model, the government was monarchical, and, with the usual exception of religion and its ministers, absolute. No idea of any system of rule, different from the will of a single person, appears to have entered the mind of them, or their legislators."² "If the world had no king," says the Hindú Law, "it would quake on all sides through fear; the ruler of this universe therefore created a king for the maintenance of this system." The same writer speaks of the circumstances which distinguish the state of government among the Mahommedans from that among the Hindús, as being "all of them to the advantage of the former." Yet of the Mahommedan rule all he can say is, that it was "a pure despotism." "The government of the (Hindú) society," writes Mr. Elphinstone, "was vested in an absolute monarch. The opening of the chapter on Government employs the boldest poetical figures to display the irresistible power, the glory, and almost the divinity, of a king."³ In his description of the Hindú character, Mr. Elphinstone draws a picture which is irreconcilable with representative institutions. "Their great defect," he says, "is a want of manliness. Their slavish constitution, their blind superstition, their extravagant mythology, the subtleties

¹ History of India, vol. ii. p. 232, note.

² Ibid. vol. i. p. 202.

³ Ibid. p. 19.

and verbal distinctions of their philosophy, the languid softness of their poetry, their effeminate manners, their love of artifice and delay, their submissive temper, their dread of change, the delight they take in puerile fables, and their neglect of rational history, are so many proofs of the absence of the more robust qualities of disposition and intellect throughout the mass of the nation."¹ Mahomedan rule in India may be briefly described from Elphinstone's History, in one line—"In practice the king's office was hereditary, and his power absolute." "The Muslims," says Mr. Erskine, "had no general system for conducting their internal government. The will of the ruler, capricious and uncertain at best, but to which there was no check, was the acknowledged rule. They were bigots to their religion, and this bigotry . . . formed another bond of union. The Hindús, on the contrary, long divided, even under their own great monarchies, into petty principalities that had little intercourse with each other, but in the way of quarrel or hostility, had no principle of union, except in cases of intolerable oppression, and that only against the immediate tyrant of the hour. Their principle of quietism led them to acquiesce in any government once established."² The historian of the Mahrattas, in endeavouring to draw an impartial character of the natives of India speaks of their vices as having "originated in a corrupt, oppressive government, and the demoralizing effects of an absurd superstition."³ But he adds some remarks which show that, in his opinion, they are still in too uncivilized a state to be qualified for representative institutions. "All natives of India," he says, "even the most intelligent of them are extremely superstitious, and place great reliance on astrology, omens, prodigies, and prophecies; and nothing of magic, witchcraft, or supernatural agency, is too gross for the credulity of the multitude."

Similar evidence might be adduced from many other writers, but it will probably be thought that enough has been given to show that, if not, as Lord Macaulay said, "by universal acknowledgement," at least according to the weightiest authorities, the people of India, from their indolence, carelessness, want of public spirit, and above all from their previous training, are at present unprepared for representative government.

But it is in Mr. John Stuart Mill's well-known work that this disqualification has been most fully pointed out. "A people," he says,

¹ History of India, vol. ii. pp. 197, 418.

² History of India under Baber and Humáyun, vol. ii. p. 22.

³ History of the Mahrattas, vol. i. p. 24.

"must be considered unfit for more than a limited and qualified freedom, who will not co-operate actively with the law and the public authorities in the repression of evil-doers. A people who are more disposed to shelter a criminal than to apprehend him, who, like the Hindús, will perjure themselves to screen the man who has robbed them, rather than take trouble, or expose themselves to vindictiveness by giving evidence against him . . . require that the public authorities should be armed with much sterner powers of repression than elsewhere, since the first indispensable requisites of civilized life have nothing else to rest on. These deplorable states of feeling, in any people who have emerged from savage life are, no doubt, usually the consequence of previous bad government, which has taught them to regard the law as made for other ends than their good, and its administrators as worse enemies than those who openly violate it. But however little blame may be due to those in whom these mental habits have grown up, and however these habits may be ultimately conquerable by better government, yet, while they exist, a people so disposed cannot be governed with as little power exercised over them, as a people whose sympathies are on the side of the law, and who are willing to give active assistance in its enforcement."¹ In fact Mr. Mill goes so far as to represent the state of Oriental nations generally, with reference to free institutions, as in some respects less hopeful than that of the rudest tribes. "If the nation," he says, "has never risen above the condition of an Oriental people, in that condition it continues to stagnate. But if, like Greece or Rome, it had realized anything higher, through the energy, patriotism, and enlargement of mind, which as national qualities are the fruits solely of freedom, it relapses in a few generations into the Oriental state; and that state does not mean stupid tranquillity, with security against change for the worse, it often means being overrun, conquered and reduced to domestic slavery, either by a stronger despot, or by the nearest barbarous people, who retain along with their savage rudeness the energies of freedom."²

But not to speak of other reasons for believing with Mr. Mill, that India is still "at a great distance from ripeness for representative government," there is, according to that authority, an insuperable obstacle to such a government in India in the want of nationality. "Free institutions," he says, "are next to impossible in a country made up of different nation-

¹ Considerations on Representative Government, p. 7.

² Ibid. p. 49.

alities. Among a people without fellow-feeling, especially if they read and speak different languages, the united public opinion, necessary to the working of representative government, cannot exist."¹ Community of language and religion, and identity of political antecedents, in which a feeling of nationality has its origin, do not exist in India. The Mahratta, the Afghan or Rohilla, the Sikh, the Parsi, the Sindhian, the Bengali, the Gorkha, the Kanarese, the native of Pegu, the Khond, the Nair, have nothing in common. An advance is being made, no doubt, to a fusion of the innumerable races that inhabit the vast extent of India, but it will be well if the causes of unification now at work should have any decisive result in the course of a century.

Such being an outline of the reasoning as to the unfitness of India for representative government, it is time to consider what evidence there is for the reverse proposition. It has been said that the village communities show that the natives of India possess the instincts of self-government, and that, therefore, it is fair to suppose that they will understand representative government. Reference also has been made to the system of Pancháyets, or juries of five, amongst the Hindús generally, and of Panches among the Sikhs, as being evidence in the same direction. As Mr. Mill hardly even alludes to these systems, though he is, of course, well-informed regarding them, we must suppose that he sees in them no proof that India is fit for representative institutions. Examination of the subject will, I think, confirm his views. The first thing that strikes us in the inquiry is, that the origin of the village community is nowhere related even in the oldest Sanskrit writings, but that, however old the record, the community seems to have pre-existed, and that for so long a period as to be untraceable. Accordingly, Mr. Maine, in his work on *Ancient Law*,² thus speaks of it :—"The village community of India is at once an organized patriarchal society and an assemblage of co-proprietors . . . it is known to be of immense antiquity. In whatever direction research has been pushed into Indian history, general or local, it has always found the community in existence at the furthest point of its progress." It would be easy to confirm from other sources this statement of the extreme antiquity of the village community. On recognising the fact, and placing it beside the assertion that this archaic institution is evidence of a fitness for representative government, the thought

¹ *Considerations on Representative Government*, p. 296.

² Page 264.

naturally occurs, if this be a germ of the kind supposed, how has it remained so long without any sign of vitality? Surely 3,000 years would have sufficed to develop it had it been capable of expansion. Nor has it been kept back by caste institutions, or any other obstacle peculiar to India, for the village community exists in many countries beyond the Hindú Kosh. "The researches of M. de Haxthausen, M. Tengoborski and others," says Mr. Maine, "have shown us that the Russian villages are not fortuitous assemblages of men, nor are they unions founded on contract; they are naturally-organized communities like those of India. In Servia, in Croatia, and the Austrian Slavonia, the villages are also brotherhoods of persons, who are at once co-owners and kinsmen."¹ Now, the Slavonians and Hindús are proved by the affinities of their languages to have been one nation in the prehistoric period. They have been widely-scattered over the earth's surface, but the village community common to them has, in the remotest regions and under the most varying circumstances, never given birth to representative government; on the contrary, it has ever been associated with despotism; nay, the very tenacity with which the Hindús cling to their village system is, according to Mr. Mill, a disqualification *pro tanto* for the best use of representative government. "Strong prejudices," he says, "of any kind, obstinate adherence to old habits would be reflected in the representative assembly, and would hamper the action of the executive."² Lastly, as the same writer has observed, "the inveterate spirit of locality, which is inherent in the village community, is a strong hindrance to improvement, and is directly opposed to the constitutional maxim of this country, that each member of Parliament is a representative of the whole realm."

The Pancháyet, or Hindú jury, though less ancient than the village community, is admittedly a very old institution. The number five had something special about it. Thus we find in Sanskrit, five elements, five sheaths of the soul, five places of pilgrimage, five religious duties, five mystic fires, five months of Shiva, and so on; but whether the mystic idea gave rise to the Pancháyet, or the universality of the institution led to these groups, cannot be determined. It would seem, however, that the Pancháyet was the offspring of caste, since in matters of caste the decision of regular tribunals was unacceptable, and in many cases, especially as regards Bráhmans, inoperative. It is unnecessary, however, to dwell

¹ Ancient Law, p. 266.

² Considerations on Representative Government, p. 79.

on the subject, as "there are now few occasions on which this sort of assembly is spontaneously had recourse to, or in which its judgments are regarded as decisive, and this, notwithstanding great pains have been taken by the British Government to render it effective." Amongst the Sikhs alone had this institution begun to have any political significance. But, in speaking of representative government for a population of 200,000,000, the institutions of a comparatively small tribe, who alone abolished caste, can have no influence on the general argument.

These considerations seem to lead to the conclusion that the people of India are far from being prepared for representative government, and must be devoid of that desire for it which a state of preparation implies. Still it is the duty of India's rulers, as it will be the best justification of their "vigorous despotism," to train their Eastern subjects in what is wanting to render them capable of that higher civilization, in which they will be both prepared and eager for institutions to which they are now indifferent. To this end the number of the native members of the Legislative Council in India might be increased, and some at least might be elected, instead of being designated by Government. Certain bodies might elect a representative, subject to approval by the Governor. For instance, the zamindárs of Bengal might elect representatives for the Council at Calcutta, and the sirdárs of the Dakhan, the chiefs of Káthiawád, and the justices of Bombay might similarly choose members for the Bombay Council. Nor can there be any good reason why such councillors should not receive an adequate allowance as indemnity, according to the practice with regard to members of Parliament, which obtained in England down to 1681.¹ In the same way, every effort should be made to encourage and extend the representative character of the Indian municipalities.

But here arises the second question which it has been proposed to examine, a question interesting at this moment, perhaps, only as a political problem, but which must assume a deeper importance, and acquire greater and greater urgency with every step which is made towards fusing the people of India into one vast nationality. This question is, If representative government were granted to India, could the union between that country and England be maintained, and if not, does justice or expediency require that the grant should be made at

¹ Hearn's "Government of England," p. 499.

the expense of a separation? Now, it has been suggested that if the Crown, or the Viceroy, retained an absolute veto on the acts of the Representative Assembly in India, that check, together with the control of the army, would secure the continuance of our rule. But it is unnecessary to take pains to refute such propositions, because from the very nature of the case all such checks would be ineffectual. For, according to Mr. Mill, "the meaning of representative government is that the whole people, or some numerous portion of them, exercise, through deputies periodically elected by themselves, the ultimate controlling power, which, in every constitution, must reside somewhere. This ultimate power they must possess in all its completeness. They must be masters, whenever they please, of all the operations of government."¹ In the same sense Sir George Lewis has said, "It is no genuine concession to grant to a dependency the names and forms and machinery of popular institutions, unless the dominant country will permit those institutions to bear the meaning which they possess in an independent community; nor do such apparent concessions produce any benefit to the dependency, but, on the contrary, they sow the seeds of political dissensions, and, perhaps, of insurrections and wars, which would not otherwise arise."² If this be true, England, on establishing a representative government in India, hands the key of her Eastern house to the Indian Parliament. England might possibly reconquer India, but India could declare herself independent whenever she pleased.

But it may be said that India is too strongly bound to England by goodwill and community of interests to separate. Believing that much goodwill does exist between the English and the Indians, and that not even the differences of language, habits of social life and religion, would leave us entirely without friends in a struggle like that of 1857, can we suppose that our union with India is based on memories and attachments as strong as those which linked England to America; yet even those were bands of tow, when the flame of dissension broke out. Community of interests, however, is of more account. To use the words of Talleyrand, "*L'intérêt bien entendu de deux pays est le vrai lien qui doit les unir*,"³—and this bond of union is found in unusual strength between England and India. Commercially, socially, and politically,

¹ *Considerations on Representative Government*, p. 86.

² *An Essay on the Government of Dependencies*, p. 315.

³ *Essai lu à la Séance Publique de l'Institut National*, le 25 messidor an V.

the interests of the two countries are one, and separation, now and for a long time to come, would be to both a great calamity—to India, in all probability, utter ruin. In speaking of commerce, I shall not attempt to calculate how much England has gained from India, or India from England, in the long period of their intercourse. Any such attempt must necessarily fail, because it is simply impossible to detect and bring into the reckoning all those interminable items, drawbacks, and deductions, that should compose the account of a traffic which has been going on between two nations for centuries. Thus it has been asserted that the early gains of the East India Company up to 1788, may be reckoned by millions. But, on the other hand, McCulloch has shown that a great body of the proprietors, who in 1773, for example, owned half the capital of the Company, were not Englishmen at all, but foreigners. That being so, England could not be credited with their share of the profits. The same author speaks very disparagingly of the trade with India, and says that but for the tea trade the Company “would long since have ceased to exist, at least as a mercantile body;”¹ and again that, “notwithstanding the enormous prices charged for tea, for these many years past, the Company’s trade has been, on the whole, productive of nothing but loss.” These remarks naturally remind us, that in any statement of the trade between England and India, care must be taken not to mix up that with China. But this is difficult, or rather impossible, now, because separate returns were not made until 1814. The enormous fortunes brought to England by some individuals from India, during the last century, led to very exaggerated notions as to the influx of wealth from India into this country generally. Those cases sometimes admitted of curious explanations. It was pointed out to me that, in one remarkable case, the Company had sent a person to collect immense debts at an Indian seaport; that individual disappeared for a time, but returned to England with immense riches, which, in fact, ought to have swelled the balance of the Company, but in the hands of one man produced an infinitely greater impression on the public mind. Again, the money remitted from India to England under the head of “Home Charges” appears to be a perennial stream of wealth flowing out of India into this country. But of this a large proportion is returned in the shape of stores, which are added to the material capital of India. It is

¹ Dictionary of Commerce, article “East Indian Company.”

also very important to remember that every Englishman who has ever gone to India in official employ, or in trade, has taken with him some capital, and many throughout their career have had remittances made to them from their families in England. Cases are not rare in which the capital taken to India has amounted to thousands of pounds, and in every case India has been *pro tanto* enriched at the expense of England. As this process has been going on for more than a century, the transfer of wealth effected by it must on the whole be very great indeed.

Such are a few of the impossible calculations which ought to be made before a correct balance-sheet between England and India could be drawn out. It will not do to deal summarily with the question, as, for instance, by taking a table of imports and exports, and, after showing that for so many years India has exported so many millions more than she has imported, by deciding that, therefore, at the end of the term she is so much the poorer. For example, the official tables¹ show that from 1841 to 1865 inclusive, the exports from British India exceeded the imports by 91,660,604*l.*; does that show that India was 91,000,000*l.* the poorer? There could not be a more transparent fallacy. Could a country be impoverished by a trade which in fifteen years quintupled itself? No. As long as the ratio of the productive powers of a country does not diminish, increasing trade must be a source of wealth, not of poverty. This is self-evident, for it is only saying that products are not diminishing and that they are being exchanged at an increasing rate. What then are we to infer from the tables of Indian Trade from 1841 to 1865? Clearly this, that they are either incorrect as regards the values of the goods, or that they do not show the whole case. Thus, as to the latter point, we remark at once that the tables only show the sea-borne traffic, and that no estimate at all is given of the immense land-traffic which is carried on all round the frontier from Burmah to Mekrán. But the most probable explanation of the excess of exports from British India to England over imports is, that the difference, and a portion of what is called the "Home Charges," represent what is due to England as interest on the Indian Debt, and on the loans to India for railways and other public works.

In making these observations, there is no intention to speak lightly of the commercial importance of India to England. No one can doubt that of the sources from which this country, the world's entrepôt, has

¹ Statistical Abstract, presented to Parliament, 1867.

drawn its unequalled wealth, India has not been the least prominent. But what I would desire to show is, that it is an error, and a most pernicious one, to suppose that India is drained in proportion as England is enriched. In commerce great profits on one side by no means imply similar losses on the other. To use the words of an eminent statesman, "Experience and reason unite to refute the pusillanimous doctrines which suppose a corresponding loss to every gain."¹ It is possible that a larger share of the profits may accrue to England, but then the working capital² by which that trade has been carried on has, for the most part, been found by England, and hence the larger returns have been hers by right.

But there are incontestable facts to prove, that if this country has been enriched by her intercourse with India, the wealth of India has advanced *pari passu*. On this point it will suffice to quote the words of Mr. Laing in the debate, on the 13th of August, last year: "We might challenge the world," he said, "to show an instance of more commercial and industrial progress than has been made in India since the termination of the mutiny."³ He believed that he was safe in saying that, "over an extensive area, inhabited by a population of 200,000,000, the average rate of wages, the average price of commodities, and the value of landed property, had risen by not less than from 25 to 30 per cent." Nor did Mr. Fawcett's objection that, "unless wages were rising in a greater ratio than prices, this test was inconclusive," detract from the force of this statement. In India, the masses are small cultivators, and the class who live by wages is comparatively few. Moreover, in the labour market, the supply is altogether unequal to the demand. Mr. Laing's statement is therefore true, but it is far from being all that might be said. A still more competent witness,⁴ as being one who has known India longer and more intimately, declares, "the annual value of the crops of India cannot be less than 300 to 400 millions sterling, and the average pressure of our land revenue thereon does not exceed one-fifteenth of the produce . . . The ryot is everywhere rapidly accumulating wealth; capital is being as

¹ Talleyrand, *Essai lu à la Séance Publique de l'Institut National*.

² *Ibid.* "The great capital of the English merchants enable them to give longer credits than can the merchants of any other nation. Hence the American merchant who gets his goods from England employs scarcely any capital of his own in the commerce, and trades almost entirely on English capital."

³ *Times*, August 13, 1867.

⁴ Speech on Indian Affairs, delivered before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, on the 24th January, 1866, by Robert Knight, p. 26.

largely sunk in the soil, as the hoarding traditions of the country yet render possible; vast centres of wealth are growing up under the thirty years' system—as Bombay with its mills, and factories, and million of people; Ahmadábád, Bharuch, and Dhárwár, with their wealthy populations, and Karáchi with its giant trade."

Socially, India has derived, and is deriving, immense benefits from England. It would be idle to dwell on the abolition of those enormous evils, thuggism, dakáití, infanticide, widow-burning, human sacrifices, and religious persecution, or to point to the dawnings of female education, the ever-growing power of a free press, and above all to that sovereignty of Law, which every inhabitant of India must feel has taken the place of government by individual will. These things are well-known. The single circumstance, however, that we are here discussing the question of Representative Institutions for India, is in itself a declaration of the immense social progress that country is making under her connection with England. On the other hand, India has been to England a training-ground for soldiers and a school for statesmen and men of science.

Politically, India and England have the same interests, and pre-eminently so at this moment. To use the words of a well-known traveller and writer,¹ "Whether England or Russia get the advantage, which of the two will become chief arbiter of the old world's destinies, can never be to us an indifferent matter; for, widely as these two powers differ from each other in their character as channels of Western civilization, not less widely do they diverge from one another in any future reckoning up of the issues of their struggle. A passing glance, on the one hand, at the Tatars, who have lived for 200 years under Russian rule, on the other, at the millions of British subjects in India, might teach us a useful lesson from the past on this point. This, however, may be reserved for later investigation. For the present, we will only affirm, that the question of a rivalry between these two North European powers in Central Asia, concerns not only Englishmen and Russians, but every European as well; nay, more, it deserves to be studied with interest by every thoughtful person of our century. What the enemies of Great Britain tell us of her tyrannical behaviour, is mainly an untruth. If they saw how the march of our Western civilization drives out the vices of the old Asiatic, how it seeks to upraise the down-trodden rights of man, and, freeing millions from the

¹ Vámbéry's "Sketches of Central Asia," p. 385.

sway of a single tyrant, leads them on towards a better future, then, assuredly, they could not remain indifferent to England's influence in foreign lands."

The general conclusion which I would draw from all that has been said regarding the union between India and England, is, that it is of immense importance to both countries, and to the cause of civilization generally, that nothing should be done by which that union might be endangered, and that, while it is desirable to prepare the way for representative government in India, no great and sudden step should be taken in that direction until the people of India are better prepared for it, and until the fusion of the, at present, hostile sects and tribes into one great nationality has been effected. In the meantime, it is to be hoped that by wise and liberal measures the goodwill of the people of India will be so conciliated, that, on their becoming as independent as the inhabitants of our freest colonies, no change will be made in the existing commercial, social, and friendly, relations between the two countries, but that which was said of America on her attaining independence may prove applicable to India: "Whoever has observed America well, can now no longer doubt that in her general bent she remains English; that, since her independence, her former commerce with England, instead of becoming less active, has grown more so, and that, consequently, her independence, far from being calamitous, has turned out, in many respects, advantageous to England."¹

Having spoken thus far of the Representation of India in India, I come now to consider the Representation of that country in the Imperial Parliament. The subject divides itself into two heads, direct and indirect representation, and I propose to begin with the former. I regret very much that in this inquiry no assistance is to be derived from books that treat of the Government of the Colonies. India is held to be in no sense a colony, and is styled a dependency, the definition of which is, "a part of an independent political community, which is immediately subject to a subordinate government;"² that is, "a government which acts by delegated powers, but which possesses powers applicable to every purpose of government." Accordingly, India's claims to representation are not discussed where those of the colonies are considered. Some objection to this might be offered. Mr. Merivale, for instance, defines a colony to be "a territory

¹ Essai lu à la Séance Publique de l'Institut National, par M. de Talleyrand.

² Essay on the Government of Dependencies, by G. C. Lewis, pp. 70, 71.

of which the soil is entirely, or principally owned by settlers from the mother country."¹ But, in the first instance, the soil is the property of the Crown, which gives or sells it to the settlers; and, theoretically, the soil of India is the property of the Crown, which can sell the fee simple of all that vast territory which comes under the head of "waste lands," to settlers; so India might be called a colony in process of development. Mr. Merivale, however, in dealing with the colonies, excludes India. In the same way Mr. Mill, while examining propositions for the return of colonial representatives to the British Parliament by Canada and Australia, does not even so much as allude to India. The passage is as follows:—"Those, now happily not a few, who think that justice is as binding on communities, as it is on individuals, and that men are not warranted in doing to other countries, for the supposed benefit of their own country, what they would not be justified in doing to other men for their own benefit—feel even this limited amount of constitutional subordination (their having no voice in foreign policy) on the part of the colonies to be a violation of principle, and have often occupied themselves in looking out for means by which it may be avoided. With this view it has been proposed by some that the colonies should return representatives to the British Legislature; and by others, that the powers of our own, as well as of their Parliaments, should be confined to internal policy, and that there should be another representative body for foreign and Imperial concerns, in which last the dependencies of Great Britain should be represented in the same manner, and with the same completeness as Great Britain itself. On this system there would be a perfectly equal federation between the mother-country and her colonies, then no longer dependencies."² But, after praising the equitable feelings from which those proposals emanate, Mr. Mill goes on to discountenance them. "Countries," he says, "separated by half the globe do not present the natural conditions for being under one government, or even being members of one federation." It appears, however, that he was not so much as thinking of India, by adding, "Let any Englishman ask himself how he should like his destinies to depend on an assembly of which one-third was British American, and another third South African and Australian." I confess I am unable to see how, with reference to the comparative population, two-thirds of the proposed body could consist of American and Australian members. But,

Lectures on the Colonies.

² Considerations on Representative Government, p. 323.

waiving that point, I submit that justice, not sentiment, is to be considered in deciding the question.

May it not be said, however, that whatever claims the colonies have to be represented in the British Legislature—and I am far from undervaluing them—India has still stronger. It is true that a large number, perhaps the majority, of those who people our colonies are of English descent. But they have Parliaments of their own, levy their own taxes, and dispose of their own revenues, and, except in the matter of foreign policy, are quite independent. But India has no voice as to the disposal of her vast revenue, and must not only follow the foreign policy of our government, and suffer at its bidding the calamities of war, but actually sends her armies to serve in foreign countries in our quarrels,—a thing to which the colonies might, perhaps, under extraordinary circumstances, consent, but which we should never think of exacting from them. But it will be objected that proof has been already tendered that the Indian people are unprepared for representative institutions. Of the masses this is, no doubt, true, but there is a sufficient number of Europeans and of educated natives to form a few respectable constituencies, and were these to return members, a powerful stimulus would be given to debates on Indian affairs. At each of the Indian presidential towns, there are in round numbers 8,000 Europeans, to whom it would be easy in each case to add 12,000 natives, who in wealth and intelligence would be, to say the least, on a par with a large portion of the voters here. There would be, therefore, three constituencies with 20,000 voters each, returning in all six members, who would supply to the House information regarding India, and would take away the reproach of our not granting to an immense population any voice as to their own taxation.

It is true that the public mind in England is, we cannot but feel, wholly unprepared at present to accord attention to propositions of the kind just mentioned. Even the most equitable and large-minded members of Parliament, such as Mr. Mill, would probably put aside such suggestions as unworthy of consideration. But would this be the case were those members as much interested in India as they are in England? The scheme would surely assume a different aspect in their eyes, could they for a moment realize the feelings of the educated natives of India. At all events, enough may be urged in favour of the plan to obtain for it careful consideration. Are we startled at the idea of granting representatives to a dependency so distant as India? But the

electric telegraph has brought India into closer juxtaposition to England than Calais in the reign of Henry the VIII. ; and we know that, under that monarch, the right of election was extended to Calais.¹ This shows that there is nothing in the genius of the English Constitution opposed to the representation in the British Legislature of dependencies beyond sea. Were the question to be argued on general grounds, other precedents might be quoted. There is that of the deputies of St. Domingo, who went in 1789 to the States-General of France, and to six of whom seats were conceded, with the right to vote. There is the still more important fact that a deputy from Goa sits in the Cortes of Portugal, and I believe I am right in saying that the French possessions in the East Indies have been represented in France. But it will be said that it is a principle of the English Constitution that the place represented should be subject to Parliamentary burthens. To this it may be replied, that there is no valid reason why Parliament should not direct the Indian Budget, deal with the deficit or surplus, and guarantee the Indian Debt. Who can doubt that Parliament has at present all the real responsibilities and liabilities that attach to the Government of India, without any of the advantages? Were the English and Indian Budgets brought side by side, like twin cherries on one stem, and the Indian deficit made good, and the Indian surplus received by us, as is done by France in regard to the West Indian colonies, that very circumstance would give the revenues of India an elasticity which would soon turn the present small deficit into a large and ever-increasing surplus. The interest of the Indian Debt under Imperial guarantee would fall at once, and the facilities for raising money for public works would be indefinitely extended. In fact, whoever studies the statistics of Indian Finance must see, that to make common purse with India would be a very lucrative bargain for England. In twenty years, from 1840 to 1860, the revenue of India exactly doubled itself; and as, since then, the rate of increase has greatly advanced, it may fairly be calculated that in 1880 the Debt of India will not exceed one year's revenue. It is very important, too, to remember that, while it may fairly be assumed that the maximum of expenditure has been nearly reached, a sum not far short of 100,000,000*l.* has been laid out in reproductive works.

But, whatever may be the fate of a proposition for the direct representation of India in the Imperial Parliament, it is certain that the indirect

¹ Lectures on Colonization, by H. Merivale, p. 63.

representation of that country in the two Houses is wholly inadequate. This is an evil which cries for immediate redress. At present, if the fate of India were dependent on there being in the House of Commons ten members, who could fairly be called representative men for that country, it would be difficult to enumerate them. In the House of Lords the difficulty of finding representatives of India would be even greater. Here then, is one principal cause of the little interest showed when Indian affairs are discussed. Some members are, no doubt, restrained by a sense of diffidence from taking part in debates where they feel themselves not sufficiently instructed; others are completely engrossed with measures relating to the great interests of the day in this country. Thus it happens that, although the House generally, and many of the leading statesmen in an especial degree, are anxious to see improvements in the government of India introduced, debates on such subjects languish. But how is this to be remedied? To allow members of the Indian Council to sit in Parliament is obviously one means of partially solving the difficulty. It may be objected that those gentlemen are in the enjoyment of salaries for life, and that their presence in Parliament would weaken the position of the Indian Minister. The first objection is easily answered by reducing the term of office to ten or five years, a measure desirable on other grounds. To the second objection it may be replied, that in all cases of importance, where the councillors differ from the Secretary of State, their dissents are recorded, and may be called for by the House; so that in any opposition to a measure of the Government, the difference on the new system would be only that between an oral and a written statement. Seats in Parliament would, no doubt, add to the weight and dignity of the councillors, but this must surely be regarded as most desirable. According to Mr. Mill, "the only mode of governing India which has any chance of tolerable success, is to govern through a delegated body of a comparatively permanent character; allowing only a right of inspection, and a negative voice to the changeable administration of the State."¹ Such a body is the Council of India, whose power would suffer no general diminution, though it might be occasionally guided or even restrained by the ampler discussion on Indian affairs to which their presence in Parliament would lead. In general, the initiative would still remain with the Council of India.

¹ *Considerations on Representative Government*, p. 339.

But Parliamentary duties added to those of office would, during a portion of the year, greatly increase the demand on the time and mental activity of the councillors. To compensate for this, it would be requisite to add from five to ten members to the Council, a measure which would allow the quorums of committees to be maintained when some of the members were called away by Parliament. At least five of these new members should be delegates from India, say one from each of the cities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Lahore, with one chosen annually by the five principal states—by the Nizam, Sindhia, Holkar, the Gaekwád, and the Raja of Kashmir in succession. In this way an opportunity would be presented of offering to native gentlemen of high rank a worthy object of ambition, and also of trying in India an experiment of the representative system on a grander scale than in the election of Presidential Councillors, or municipal officers. Certain constituencies have been mentioned in that part of this paper which treated of the direct Representation of India in Parliament. Say, that each of those constituencies were empowered to elect a native gentleman as a member of the Council of India. A similar constituency would be formed at Lahore, which might similarly be empowered. I am not aware of any possible objection that could be raised to such a plan, except that it is new, while it seems to me to present several unquestionable advantages. In the first place, there would be a high and influential position offered to the ambition of the natives of India, which the proudest and most intellectual among them might not disdain to fill; secondly, the superintendence of the finances of India would, to a certain extent, be entrusted to those who have the strongest claim to watch over them, and who could best suggest what changes should be made in taxation; thirdly, there would be a trial, worthy the name, of the working of representative institutions in India; fourthly, by the presence of a delegate from the native states in the Indian Council, much of the heart-burning and harsh relations which exist between those states and the Indian local governments might be obviated; and lastly, as rich, influential and able natives of India would be resident in England for a period of years, no one could say that the Representation of India in Parliament by Indians would be thenceforth an utter impossibility. At the same time, it would be no small advantage for Indians of rank to learn something of this country, and of the working of the Home Government. With regard to precedents, one will be found

in the *Comité Consultatif*¹ attached to the Department of the Colonial Ministry in France.

I have now said my say on the subject I asked permission to bring before the notice of this meeting. The suggestions I have to offer may be embodied in few words—greater encouragement of the Representative principle in India, Representation of India in the Indian Council, and removal of the restriction which prevent councillors from sitting in Parliament. I am painfully aware how meagre these proposals are in comparison with the gigantic interests of so vast an empire as India; but the feeling which has influenced me throughout the inquiry is the Conservative one, which cannot be better expressed than in the words of a great Liberal:—"If we would increase our sum of good, nothing is more indispensable than to take due care of what we already have. If a gain in one respect is purchased by a more than equivalent loss in the same, or in any other, there is no progress. Conduciveness to progress thus understood, includes the whole excellence of a government." With this feeling, and with the conviction that the union which subsists between India and England is India's gain and England's glory, and that the general maintenance of our colonial empire is a step towards "universal peace and friendly co-operation among nations," I utterly discard and repudiate any plan which could tend to the severance of the two countries. On the contrary, if I have ventured to suggest any changes, it has been in the hope that their effect would be to attach India more closely to this land, and bring about a state of things in which, as Sir C. Trevelyan has lately so well declared, the Indian nation will prove England's best bulwark in the East, against Russian aggression or any other danger.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI—I wish to make a few remarks upon the very excellent paper which has been read by Mr. Eastwick. As a native, I feel the greatest interest in the matter. The question as to the benefit that India derives from England can be at once settled. No educated native will at any moment dispute that, being fully satisfied after experience of British rule, India could not do better than under British rule. There have been several authorities of much weight referred to by Mr. Eastwick, who have raised objections to the giving of representation to the natives of India, on the ground that they are superstitious, and so on. But what is it that the British rule has already done for the natives of India? The British rule has taught them to give up their superstitions, to give up their old habits, and to raise themselves from the state of degradation in which they were under the political system of the

¹ Lectures on Colonization, p. 63.

former rule. If the British rule has effected that, why is it that this other boon cannot be given to India by the same hand? If India under British rule has improved in enlightenment, in civilization, and in every respect, why should not England go further, and fit the natives for representative institutions? A beginning, as suggested by Mr. Eastwick, might be very safely and properly made in the election of the municipal bodies as well as the members of Council. That subject has been so fully enlarged upon by Mr. Eastwick, that I have nothing further to say upon it. Mr. Eastwick has entered into the question of the benefit derived by India in its commercial relations with England. There can be no question that, as to commerce between the two countries, the gain of the one is not the loss of the other. The balance of the two countries must square, otherwise there cannot be commerce. That point is so evident, that no native or Englishman having the slightest knowledge of the first principles of political economy would think it necessary to discuss that point. With respect to the economic results of the political relations between England and India, England is benefited to the extent to which it renders service to India. If England goes to India to serve it, it must receive its wages. India is benefited by that service, though, as the English rule is a foreign rule, those wages go out of the country, while, in the case of a native government, the wages would remain in the country, and be a part of the wealth of the country. India ought not to grudge those wages. The order and law introduced into India by the introduction of British rule, the changes which that rule has effected in its political, social, moral and intellectual condition are a sufficient benefit, and more than a sufficient benefit for what it has to pay. The entire regeneration of the country from stagnation and degradation is a thing to be obtained at any price. As to Representation in the imperial Parliament, I will just make a few remarks. England had not its representative system brought to the full development of household suffrage when it first commenced. It began with the barons and higher people, and it required centuries to develop itself to the present household suffrage, each step being attained under great difficulty and under great struggles. Therefore, when we talk of India not being prepared for representative government, it may not be prepared for the representative system at present existing in England, but the seed might be sown in the same way as it was sown here; and the princes, the more advanced classes of the native community, the rich and influential might very well form a constituency, as respectable as ever existed at the time when Parliament first commenced in this country, to send either representatives here or to the Indian Council in India. And, a proper beginning having been made in that manner, I see no reason why the seed when sown should not in time germinate and produce good results, to the credit and glory of those who would confer that blessing upon the people, and to the benefit of those who would receive it.

Mr. TAYLER—My Lord and Gentlemen, having so very lately joined this Society, it would be perhaps presumption in me to offer any remarks whatever upon so important and vital a subject as that which Mr. Eastwick has brought before us in his paper. Judging from the circular sent to me, and having been myself absent some weeks from London, I had no opportunity of knowing or ascertaining the exact scope of the paper to which we have just listened. From the terms of that circular, I came prepared simply to hear a paper relative to the Representation of India in the Imperial Parlia-

ment, therefore I was not prepared for so interesting a paper, opening up a far more important subject, namely, the Representation of India in the Councils of India itself; for, to my mind, the idea of the representation of a country like India in the Imperial Parliament, when it does not enjoy representation in India, is simply a farce. It would be like a man coming before the highest Court of Appeal when he had not appeared in the lower courts. Had I been prepared for the discussion opened up by Mr. Eastwick's able paper I might have been prepared to offer a few suggestions upon it. I think I should have been prepared, though perhaps it is presumptuous in me to say so, to deprecate the sweeping assertions even of men like Macaulay and Mill; not that I would venture to assert, in opposition to such high authority, that the natives of India, as they now are, are actually, absolutely fitted for the highest privileges of representative government; but I should be prepared to ask, if our English missionaries can spread themselves over the land to teach the natives of India the truths of our religion; if our English schoolmasters can go abroad to teach them the beauties of Milton and our other poets, the truths of our geography, and the principles of our Western science, why should not Government also take upon themselves the task of teaching them the truths of representative government? These remarks, indeed, have been already anticipated by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and I fully concur in what he has said on that point. If it is the mission of England to lead the natives of India to a higher civilization, why stop at one particular branch of education, viz. teaching them to appreciate representative institutions—the conferring of which would be the greatest blessing to India and to England. The subject, however, is so large, so comprehensive, and so elaborate, that I do not intend to follow it further now. I will simply proceed to offer a few suggestions which may be of some little use, coming from one who has passed his whole life in India. With regard to the second subject, viz.—Representation in the Imperial Parliament: If the Association is to take any action upon the subject now being discussed—if this is to be anything more than a mere verbal discussion—I suppose some sort of action will be eventually taken by the Association. And what is the subject proposed? How, or in what way, can we secure in any effectual degree the representation of that great country in the Imperial Parliament? Will it not be a farce if the people of India are represented by five or six members in the Imperial Parliament, when the people of India have no representation whatever in the Councils of India itself? I believe there is a very general idea now that the restriction placed upon the members of the India Office, which prevented them being elected as members of Parliament, was a very great mistake—that it was a narrow-minded idea; that it was not suited even to the times then, and still less suited to the times as they are now. And there is no doubt, I should say, that a proper and judicious representation by a deputation from a Society like this, if it were in accordance with public opinion generally, might lead to the withdrawal of that restriction, so that the Imperial Parliament might have the advantage of the various and extended knowledge of the members of the India Office to assist them in their consultations. But I confess that appears to me to be a very small step towards what India wants. Everybody knows it is a mere platitude to say India is a bore; that any parish squabble or parish dispute, or a licence for a beer-shop, attracts more attention in Parliament than any question affecting the vital interests of that large country. That country with its

immense population, its stupendous mountains, its gigantic rivers, its teeming lands, is passed over by the great majority of members of Parliament as a thing not worthy of five minutes' notice. Why is it so? It puzzles us all to know. I attribute a great deal to the fact that the members interested in India who hitherto have been in Parliament, have been official members. I mean no disrespect whatever to the official element when I say so; but we all know that in all discussions connected with interesting subjects in England, it is the opposition, the independent element, which gives animation and interest to the discussion. Whereas, when the members of the Court of Directors were members of the House of Commons there was too much of that official decorum, that uniform dulness which sends people to sleep or drives them away to dinner; and till we have in Parliament some independent, intelligent, wise men, utterly untainted, if I may so call it, with that official decorum, we shall never have an interesting discussion there on Indian matters. Therefore, it was with great delight I heard in Mr. Eastwick's paper a proposal, though I fear it is but a problematical one, not to be thought of at present, that there should be constituencies established in India for the election of members to represent the interests of various parts of the country. And I was still more delighted to find that one very important element in Indian progress and Indian civilization was not overlooked, namely, the non-official classes of Englishmen; because, if I understood the proposal, it was that there should be constituencies formed of Englishmen (of course non-official) and of natives who would choose their representatives. There I consider we touch upon one of the most important questions—one that lies at the root of the whole matter; for I maintain that the officials of the Government will never train the natives to understand or appreciate the representative system. If it is done at all, it will be done by the independent Englishman, the English capitalist, the English settler who has his own independent views and his own money at stake, and his own love of that noble institution—representative government. Though I will not go so far as Mill in his disparaging description of the natives of India, I admit, from their timidity and other causes, they are far from having attained that spirit of independence which necessarily forms an ingredient in the representative system; but I say, the men to fit them for the reception of that benefit are the independent non-official Englishmen, the men who go out fresh from this country, full of enterprise, and sometimes full of money, and who will lead the natives on, and carry them on in all those legitimate adventures which constitute the birthright, one may say, of Englishmen throughout the world. Therefore, if such a constituency can possibly be formed there may be some hope of its ultimate success. I confess I should not care to see the members of the India Office again entering the Imperial Parliament; I say that simply on this account, the information which they possess is beyond all conception valuable, but that information is always available to the Secretary of State; and I do think it might be an embarrassing thing if an opposition between a Minister, the head of the department, and his subordinates were to take place in Parliament itself. And I also think that what an official member would introduce into Parliament in the way of discussion would not be calculated to remove the curse of India—the inattention which every subject relating to India meets with when introduced into Parliament. I do hope, therefore, if the Society in its laudable endeavours

to promote the true interests of India, and at the same time to support the legitimate authority of Parliament, takes any action in the matter, it will invite opinions, and carefully consider and digest them, as to the best mode of procuring not only representation in the Imperial Parliament, but representation in the first instance in India. And I would add as one concluding suggestion that, if it really is true that the natives of India now, after 100 years of our government, are totally and utterly unfit to enter upon the privileges of representative government, it is a gross inconsistency on the part of the Government to have erected as it were the sham representation which now exists, by placing one or two Oriental dummies, and one or two accommodating merchants upon the Council. True it is that, to all intents and purposes, the Council of India is a benevolent and paternal despotism. Why tack on to that the sham of a miserable representation? Speaking from my own knowledge, it is a matter of contempt and mockery throughout India. Men are put into that Council who are nothing but dummies, and they are too few and too timid, they have not enough independence and enough power of combination to give really valuable advice, and the thing is regarded throughout India as a sham. Therefore, the first step to be sought for by us, with a view to the eventual representation of India fully and entirely, is to increase, enlarge, and extend the representation in India itself.

MR. NEALE PORTER—If I venture to move an amendment, it would be, that this question be considered this time thirty years. That, of course, is only a joke; but I think we are premature in ventilating this question now. I honour very much the intelligence of the native gentleman on my left, who represents a very limited portion of the races of India, viz. the Parsee element. It would be a very great mistake to look upon the Parsee element as representing, except in a small degree, the masses of our population. Consult the great Hindû and Mussulman populations—to what extent would they consider that they were represented by Parsees, however intelligent and however wealthy? In advocating this question great stress has been laid upon the necessity of representative institutions, their great and beneficent effect. Are they flourishing in France at this moment, where you have a people great in literature and great in science? They are scarcely a success in Italy. They are practically inoperative in Spain? Those are all countries with ancient civilizations, and Christian countries, which India is not. Now consider the temper of the vast native population of India. I remember, four years ago, when I was at Agra, staying with a member of the Sudder Court there, I was introduced to Dinkur Rao, Scindia's Premier, and I was told by my friend, that he had said, having reference to the fight in the Umballah Pass, "I warn your Government not to neglect these small excitements. I knew the people of India during the Mutiny, and I know them now. The disaffection was great then, but it was nothing to what it is now." We have seen lately reports in response to a Circular, with what discretion I do not say, and by what authority I do not know, issued by Sir John Lawrence, inviting the opinions of political and other officers—I do not know whether they are printed in any Parliamentary blue-book. In Mr. Temple's paper, drawn up in answer to that Circular, which is in his usual interesting and florid style, and full of instruction, he says, "Every Mussulman is thirsting for your blood." It is no use shutting our eyes to the truth; we cannot influence the House of Commons, much less Sir Stafford

Northcote, unless we deal with facts. My opinion is that India is not prepared for representative institutions in any sense of the word—not speaking with any disrespect to the admirable paper which Mr. Eastwick has read, but simply expressing my own individual opinion. Those municipal institutions, to which he referred, would be very useful—they would be nothing new in India—they existed in past ages, long before we were civilized ourselves; but when we come to give people like those political power, for that is what representative government must be, under the aspect in which it has been presented to-night, we are putting them and ourselves in a false position. When we cease to be there as the dominant, yet intelligent, just, and Christian conquerors of the country, we have no business there any longer; and I think we are bound to do all we can for them while we are there. There is no analogy between India and our colonies. Take Australia—to use the classic language of Mr. Gladstone, our colonists have gone from our loins to distant quarters of the globe; they have our thoughts and feelings, and they do justice to our institutions. Take Jamaica—Jamaica had representative institutions, and it was found necessary to withdraw them, and I think properly so. I think, also, in some of the minor islands they have been contracted. I do not say this with any want of respect for the natives of India, I respect them immensely, but I think the question of the day is the representation of England in India rather than the representation of India in England. India is very much influenced by the men we send there, not only our officials, whether civil or military, but those not holding official positions. Our railway system introduced a vast mass of people of a lower grade and a rougher class, a great many of whom do not conduct themselves in a way to raise the character of English people in the eyes of the natives; and I think they want looking after by ourselves, not handing them over to native magistrates. Again, I think this representative system, as advocated, would tend very much to weaken the hands of the Governor-General. I think you should send the best men as your officials, paying them well, and you should also encourage independent settlers in India in every possible manner with regard to the sale of land and so on. And I may here remark that no greater mistake could have been made than that of cancelling Lord Canning's Order with respect to land. I think land should have been sold out and out, and not put up to auction. An Englishman goes prospecting for a piece of land, going to great expense in so doing, when down drops a Parsee, or some other gentleman from Bombay, having heard that the Englishman is after a particular piece of land, and he says, "This must be a good bit of ground or this Englishman wouldn't be running about after it in this way;" and at the sale the Englishman finds himself out-bid by the intelligent native with plenty of money, and the Englishman has to stand the racket. I will wind up my very discursive remarks by this general conclusion, that I think this discussion, with all respect to those who have initiated it, is premature. You mean well, but you are in advance of the age in discussing it now.

Mr. Gordon—It was not my intention to have offered any remarks to-night if it had not been for the opening sentence of the gentleman who has just sat down. He says the question ought to be postponed for thirty years—if it is postponed for thirty years the progress of India must be very seriously and very disastrously checked. I have known India only since the Mutiny, but I have been over the whole of it, and I am

very considerably interested myself personally, as well as through many of my friends, in the soil of India. The gentleman who spoke first represented the Parsees—they are by no means so small a class as Mr. Neale Porter would lead us to suppose—they are influential, and they have raised themselves to be influential by their talents, by their energy, and by an accumulation of wealth which has enabled them, as merchants, successfully to compete with the first talent of England. They have maintained a position for honour and integrity not inferior to that of the English merchant; and when I say so, I think I say that they stand as high for honour as any class in the world. With regard to the land, I think that every country ought to hold that its soil is the first thing entitled to representation. What would this country be if the owners of the soil were not represented? Would our mercantile interest be in the high position in which it is, if it were not for the consideration paid to the agricultural interest. India is dependent in a peculiar manner upon its agricultural produce—put that aside, and what have you? Nothing. At this present moment India is entirely governed, you may say, by the Civil Service, a service which ranks, perhaps, the first in the world; there cannot be one breath of censure cast against its members, it has done wonders for India; but within the last seven years India has risen almost to manhood, and the Civil Service are not able successfully to protect the local interests of the immense territory which we possess. As regards the sale of land, I cannot complain at all of the improper competition of the natives; if I complain of anything it is of the injudicious arrangements of the authorities of India under which the waste lands have been exposed for sale. Those arrangements have not been just either to the natives or to Englishmen; and it has been only by the energy of the English that the difficulties raised by them have been, to a certain extent, overcome. Had more judicious arrangements been adopted, India would have progressed within the last half-dozen years much faster than it has done. I trust we shall see some revision in that respect; but what we want first is, if possible, representation in India, so that the local interests may have some voice in the progress of the provinces in which they live, and the development of the capabilities of those provinces, as well as in the expenditure of the taxes which they themselves pay. I was delighted to hear the paper which Mr. Eastwick has just read. The proposals are small, but if we are to get representation generally for India, we must begin with small things, and increase as it is found judicious to do so. I trust this will be the means, not of postponing the Representation for India for thirty years, but of bringing it much more rapidly forward than it otherwise would have been.

Dr. K. M. Durr—I beg to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Eastwick for his admirable paper on the "Representation of India." India, no doubt, ought to be represented, and for the following reasons:—there are defects in the administration of Indian finance, there are defects in the educational department, and in fact in every department of the Government. The fault really lies not in India, but here. The power that governs India is not in India, but in Westminster. In India there are nothing but tools, everything being chalked out for them here. The real power being in Parliament, the remedy ought to be applied there. Then the question is how to apply the remedy. We know, as has been mentioned by a previous speaker, that when the Indian Budget, or any question relating to India is brought forward, it acts

as a narcotic on the members. There are some members who take an interest in the welfare of India, but the number is unfortunately very small. Every member of Parliament is morally bound to look after the welfare of India, because Parliament has undertaken to govern that vast country, with its population of nearly 200,000,000. Those members who do take an interest in India, do so as a matter of benevolence. If a thing is done from benevolence it can never be done well, that is certain. No doubt, we ought to be thankful to those gentlemen who take so much interest in the welfare of India, but it would be far better if there were men sent to Parliament to represent India. The question is whether it is practicable to have such representatives. If we were to have such representatives, we should have to change the whole machinery of the Government, and which, no doubt, ought to be changed. If we did not change the other part of the machinery of the Government, this change would not be of much use. It would be like putting the spring of St. Paul's clock into a pocket-watch. There ought to be a large number of representatives in the Indian Legislative Council as well as in the Legislative Councils of Bombay and Madras. Mr. Eastwick has said that India, no doubt, has gained a great deal from the British administration; we perfectly acknowledge that. A large amount of English capital has been introduced into India, large tracts of waste land have been cultivated, commerce has been developed, and education has no doubt made great progress; but England has also gained a great deal from its connexion with India. With respect to exports and imports, the exports, as a general rule, are always more than the imports, which can easily be accounted for. Mr. Eastwick has said that a portion of the money sent here as home charges is sent back to India, but India sends annually six, or seven, or ten millions sterling in the shape of home charges. The loss of India is much more than that—six millions sterling. We must send that six millions sterling from India either in the form of money or goods; if we send it in the form of goods, a market has to be created here, and, consequently, the loss of India will not be that six millions alone, but much more. It is not exactly the case that England does not get much benefit from India by commerce with India as well as in the way of home charges. I perfectly agree with Mr. Eastwick that there ought to be a large number of members nominated by the people and not by the Governor-General, because at present it is not the people of India whom those nominees represent, but they represent the Governor-General in Council, by whom they are nominated. No doubt, it will be a glorious thing when India, with its 200,000,000, comes, by the influence of the British rule, to the same level as other civilized countries of Europe. Such a result will be a glory to England, a glory infinitely greater than either the Battle of Waterloo or Trafalgar.

MR. CRISHOLM ANSTREY—I have very little to say my Lord, because I have very little time to say it in; and I do not know a more effectual rule for preventing anything like a satisfactory discussion of an able and exhaustive paper like that of Mr. Eastwick's, than the ten minutes rule of which we are reminded whenever we meet. I must be very rapid, because I am obliged to be very brief. My late lamented friend, Sir Francis Palgrave, used to say that the distinction between all the new constitutions which permeated all over the earth and the English Constitution on which they were erroneously supposed to be modelled, was this; the latter was the fruit of

evolution, while the former were all the fruits of revolution. Now Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has fallen into the mistake of the founders of the new constitutions—he supposes that England came into the possession of its Constitution by revolution, which turned the Barons and upper men out and put the people in; whereas the fact is that we began with the punchayet, and our punchayet gradually developed from one popular assembly into a somewhat higher popular assembly till the present House of Commons was reached. That is precisely the truth which I would wish all those to bear in mind who would attempt to carry into effect the suggestions of Mr. Eastwick; and I hope, in remembering the suggestions they will remember also the admirable caution with which those suggestions are framed. Those cautions may all be summed up in this: do not begin at the wrong, and begin at the right end. What is the right end? The bottom. Before you commence the discussion or even the consideration or proposition of the question, whether it is fit or unfit that India should be represented in Parliament, first define what Parliament is to do for India. Is Parliament to legislate for India, to govern India, or not; because, if you make up your mind that Parliament is to govern and legislate for India, then you also make up your mind to this, that what I have always been looking for as a great boon to India, viz. the government of India within the borders of India itself, is unattainable. If, on the other hand, you look at India alone when you talk of representation, you will have to consider to what extent you will revise the power of self-legislation which you have already conferred. To be sure, the body to whom you have confided that power is a nominee body; but I presume it is not at present intended, even if you make it an elective body, very greatly to alter its power. Now, nothing more limited than the terms of that gift of legislative power was ever bestowed by an Indian authority upon a province. I take it that at this moment the power which the Council of India (I say nothing of the subordinate Councils of Bombay and Madras) has to legislate for India, is less than that of most of your meanest and most contemptible possessions in the Antilles. Are you going to increase that power? If not, you need not trouble yourselves with the consideration of the question—Ought India to be represented in India herself? For my belief is that, limited as they are, the Councils of India and their legislation can do India no good. Then we must go down a little further. Is it your intention to restrict the action of the representative assemblies, which it is proposed to bestow, to municipal purposes? If you will do that, you will, at all events, have laid a foundation. You will get rid of the sham municipalities at present existing. We have heard of sham councils, but there are some things worse than sham councils, and they are the sham municipalities which English legislation has put upon the great towns of India. You will get rid of that constituency which I was sorry to hear Mr. Eastwick so much as refer to; for, as a basis of election, it is beneath contempt, worse than the corresponding constituency in this country, I mean the Justices of the Peace. If you get rid of that you will get something like a basis for a system; then you may construct your municipalities; and in India, when you construct your municipalities, you re-construct them, you are replacing what existed there long ago, the traditions of which have never died out during the thousands of years which have elapsed since their first introduction by the Aryan race, not even during the few centuries or parts of centuries that have elapsed since their destruction. When you

have got those municipalities, you will have a foundation on which to plant your next edifice. If you intend to adopt a system of representation for India, you have constituencies wherever you have municipalities; and then, if you wish to go further, and have in the meantime defined the respective provinces of Indian finance, and Imperial finance, and Indian legislative action, and Imperial legislative action, you may make the same constituencies the basis of election to the Imperial Parliament. I see no practical difficulty in the way of that election, certainly none in respect of the remoteness of the position. It is not too much to assert that, at this moment, Bombay at least, is not further remote from the ancient Palace of Westminster, for all the purposes of legislation by representation, than the northernmost island of Zetland was at the time of the passing of the Scottish Reform Act of 1832. And, my Lord, you will bear me out when I say in passing, that the Scottish Reform Act did adopt that very principle, that remoteness of situation beyond rolling seas should not constitute any objection, supposing the claim were otherwise fair, to the concession of a scheme of representation in the Imperial Parliament; for the very Section which provides for the representation of the county of Orkney and Zetland expressly recites that the great remoteness and stormy character of the sea which rolls between Zetland and the mainland, is such that it is impossible that the elections for that part of Parliamentary Scotland can take place within the time appointed by the Act for Scotland at large. And so it is enacted that, first of all, there shall be so much delay before the Sheriff of Orkney shall receive the Writ; then he shall have twenty-four hours free grace before he shall be called upon to send his Precept to the Sheriff Substitute of Zetland, who shall have from seven to twelve days to obey it; and then, if there is likely to be a contested election, there shall be an adjournment of at least seven days, and perhaps as much as sixteen days, for the purposes of the poll; and I remember at, I think, the first election or the second election after the Reform Act, in spite of all those precautions, there were eight days after the poll had closed before they could cast up the poll-books, in consequence of the raging sea which prevented boats from passing from one little island to another little island; and therefore it was many weeks from the time of the issue of the first Writ from Westminster, before the member whom that Parliamentary Writ required the constituency of that county, Zetland and Orkney, to elect, could be elected, and it was a week or two more before he could be returned. Now it is only twenty-one days between this and Bombay, and twenty-one days is but a small part of the space of time necessarily spent in elections for the county of Orkney and Zetland; so, on the whole, remoteness of situation and difficulty of access do not constitute any objection to the claim to representation, if otherwise fair and just, on the part of India, in Parliament—or rather they constitute a much more serious objection to the representation of an outlying portion of the realm of Great Britain nearer home. With regard to the experiment made in the Portuguese Legislature, I know the *Bulletin Officielle* reports the presence of a native from Goa. I believe the reason is because Goa is governed directly from Portugal, and not (as I believe India will be) from within Goa itself. And I know when he takes his oath and seat he does it by an interpreter, and claims his right to make his speech by an interpreter, which right is conceded. Whether the speech edified the Cortes, the *Bulletin Officielle* does not say; but the note says

that with the exception of the member for Goa there was not one who understood Cammarée. I do not think that experiment has been successful. I hope that the people of India and their friends here and in India, who are minded to secure to them the blessings of representation, will first turn their attention rather to the municipal question, and so go by degrees to the question of local legislation, meddling with that of Imperial representation last of all. I am jealous of Imperial legislation in matters of colonial government. I do not think our Imperial legislation in those matters has been over and above successful. We lost thirteen colonies, thanks to Imperial legislation; that we have retained the rest is owing to the fact that we have gradually thrown over our claim to legislate, and made the colonies free in spite of themselves. And if we want an instance nearer home of insolent assumption of superior knowledge and capacity to devise plans for the amelioration of the condition of those who are far better able to govern themselves, and the miserable consequences of the attempts made in the exercise of that assumed function, I say look to Ireland. I say we have no reason at all to desiderate Imperial legislation, on the contrary, I say God help India from it. I beg to second the vote of thanks to Mr. Eastwick for his paper.

The CHAIRMAN in putting the vote of thanks to Mr. Eastwick, said—I hope that the subject will be discussed on a future occasion much more fully than it has been to-night. It is one of very great moment to those connected with India, both those in it and those who have anything to do with it; and I think the discussion might, with advantage, be renewed another night. There is a great deal to be said upon the subject, and I think some other evening we might discuss it more fully than it has been to-night; and I hope when we have come to some resolution upon the subject, it may be brought before the Secretary of State.

Sir JAMES ELPHINSTONE—I beg to propose a vote of thanks to the Earl of Kellie for his conduct in the chair. This is the first time I have had the honour of attending one of these meetings, and I feel very much obliged to Mr. Eastwick for the able paper which he has read to us. I think the practical way to deal with the question is probably not to go quite so deep into it as we have done to-night, but to see how the number of members in the House of Commons, conversant with Indian subjects, can be increased. I was ten years in the House of Commons, and during that time the number of members who took an interest in Indian matters was miserably few, and the consequence was that the Indian Budget was invariably every year postponed till the very end of the session, when everybody had gone out of town, and when practically it was impossible to discuss it. If we could get such an addition to the knowledge on Indian subjects as would be afforded by the members of Council if they had seats in Parliament, that would be a step in advance. I think we ought to confine ourselves to that object in the first instance, to endeavour to get that absurd proviso in the Indian Act rescinded, and allow members of the Council to have a chance of getting into Parliament. Begging your pardon for having trespassed so far upon your attention, I beg to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Mr. TAYLER seconded the motion, and it was carried unanimously.

JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1868.

GENERAL SIR E. GREEN, K.C.B., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Paper was read by MAJOR EVANS BELL :—

Claims of the Natives of India to a Share in the Executive Government of their Country.

SOME incidental observations that were made in the parliamentary debate of last year on the alleged official shortcomings during the Orissa famine, render it tolerably certain that a scheme for a new Government of Bengal will be introduced in the next Session by Sir Stafford Northcote, and will in due course be embodied in an Act of Parliament. There cannot therefore be a more appropriate time than the present for considering the whole subject of the Viceregal Government of India, and the subordinate Governments of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and for inquiring in particular, whether their constitution would not be improved by the admission of a certain number of eminent and distinguished natives to seats in the Executive Councils.

The question may be looked at from various points of view ; it may be discussed with reference to various considerations of political expediency and abstract right. The subject is so large that I feel myself compelled by those useful restrictions as to the length of papers which we have imposed on ourselves in this Association, to confine myself to one of its numerous aspects, and to advocate the admission of native Councilors to the several Executive Governments, not as a great political measure, not as a point of public morals, but in the interest of the Imperial Power, for the furtherance of good administration. The grounds on which on this occasion I urge this great change in the system of Indian Government, bear directly on the successful working of the several departments in which the public service is organized.

At present, from the want of any representative of their race in close and influential contact with the Government, the native officials can hope for no efficient protection of their interests, as a class and as individuals. In matters of promotion, and in matters of alleged misconduct, they are almost absolutely dependent on the mercy or the caprice of their immediate European superiors. Their emoluments are so low, and their prospects so circumscribed, their treatment when employed, their tenure of office, and their claims to pension, are so doubtful and so precarious, that it is really astonishing, and most creditable to the people of India, that in the ranks of the Uncovenanted Civil Service so high a standard of efficiency and integrity has been attained.

One great source alike of negligence and partiality in the distribution of patronage and in the exercise of official discipline, is the fact that the English authorities, high and low, perform their duties under the control and supervision of no effective public opinion. The Governors and Secretaries and Chief Commissioners throughout the country can hardly be said to be subject, except in an infinitesimal degree, to any force of opinion beyond their own domestic and official circle, except that of the civil and military services, as expressed in their public and private correspondence, and in the newspapers mainly supported by their influence. No native at Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras is placed in such a position as to be enabled, as a right and as a duty, without invitation and without intrusion, to offer advice or remonstrance to the actual rulers of the country. Neither the Governor-General, nor any one of the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Chief Commissioners, or their Secretaries, is ever really brought into close contact or intimate relations with the inward sentiments, desires, and opinions of the people whom he has undertaken to govern. I do not see how this vitalizing communication can ever be really established without the admission of natives to a share in the Executive Government.

During the last twenty years, within the range of my own personal recollection and observation, the local patronage of the Viceroy, the Governors, and the other

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Provincial Lieutenants, has been very considerably increased. The department of Public Works has received an extraordinary development; new departments, of which I may mention as an instance that of Education, have been created, or enlarged from very small beginnings. The salaries of the subordinate judges, and of almost every office in the Uncovenanted Civil Service, have been raised. Of course the natives of India have drawn a certain share of profit and of honour from these changes, but I regret to say that, in my opinion, their share has been disproportionately small with reference to their numbers and their legitimate claims, and, what is worse, their share seems to me to be diminishing, rather than increasing.

If there is any province in India in which above all others the British Government ought obviously to guard carefully against introducing an excessive number of English officers, it must be in a Native State entrusted to British management. Yet in the administration of Mysore we have the strongest evidence of the constant tendency towards the multiplication of offices in favour of English gentlemen, which everywhere exists in India, and will exist until checked by the counterbalancing influence of natives, in positions of dignity and executive authority.

When General Cubbon entered upon the duties of sole Commissioner of Mysore in the year 1834, he had five English assistants, raised in two or three years to seven in number, their united salaries being about 13,000*l.* a-year. There are now in round numbers 90 English officers employed under the Mysore Government, and their united salaries are nearly, if not quite, 90,000*l.* a-year, or one-tenth of the revenues of the principality. The Department of Public Works, instituted after strong objections by General Cubbon, besides the usual Staff of Superintending and Executive Engineers, drawn from the Royal Engineers and Infantry, includes nine superior uncovenanted servants and thirty inspectors; among those only *two* are natives, the rest are Europeans or East Indians. Taking all the departments together, while there are ninety English gentlemen in good appointments, only sixteen natives are in possession of offices of the better class, which may be said to confer upon the occupant the rank and standing of a gentleman. One of the sixteen is Sheristadar to the Commissioner and local Postmaster-General, one is Second Judge of the Small Cause Court, and one is a Deputy-Superintendent, the Collector and Magistrate of a District, and enjoys, I believe, the distinction of being the only native in India who holds that position under British authority. It is very much to the honour of Mr. Bowring's discrimination and fairness that he selected this gentleman, a Brahmin of Mysore, for that post, and got him confirmed in it, in spite of considerable opposition and jealousy behind the scenes. But with these three exceptions, the native officials of the higher rank in Mysore are all placed in an inferior list as Extra Assistants, subordinate to the youngest English Assistant, and out of the line of ordinary promotion.

In the Department of the Conservation of Forests, for which one would suppose there could be no difficulty in finding or training well-qualified natives, there are seven superior appointments; three of them are held by English military officers, and four by Uncovenanted Europeans. In the Survey and Settlement Department not one of the higher offices is filled by a native. There are six military officers in this department, and two Uncovenanted Europeans.

No one can believe that this abuse of patronage would ever have occurred, or could continue, if there were any admixture of the native element in the Council of the Governor-General, or in the Executive of Mysore, either by the Rajah being admitted to a consultative share in the acts of that Government, or by the association of one or more native councillors with the British Commissioner.

When the question of the annexation of Mysore, at the death of the present reigning Rajah, was under discussion in the Council of India, one of the most respected and most liberal-minded members of the Council, Sir Erskine Perry, wrote as follows:—"I cannot help thinking that however popular in the public eye the determination not to annex Mysore may be, however politic the views of Lord Cranborne as to the employment of natives in high places undoubtedly are, if the opinions of Council had been fully taken on this subject, it would have fully appeared that the interests of the people of India would have been best promoted, and the special claims of natives of rank and education to a share in the government of their country would have been much sooner realized, by the continuance of British Government in that province."*

After having heard the facts I have read to you as to the enormous growth of

* 'Mysore Papers,' 1867, No. 271. 'Lord W. Hay,' p. 12.

patronage for the benefit of English officers in this very province of Mysore,—a growth which has continued up to a very recent date, and which we have no reason to believe has ceased,—I think you will look upon Sir Erskine Perry's expectations as somewhat romantic. He says that the special claims of natives of rank and education would be "much sooner realized by the continuance of British Government." "Sooner" and "later" are comparative terms, very indefinite in their acceptance and application. But British management has surely lasted long enough in Mysore to afford a full and fair criterion of its tendency, when untempered by native influence in the executive, to foster the honourable ambition of native public servants. When after thirty-four years of British management the number of English officials has risen from seven to ninety, while that of superior native officers has dwindled down to sixteen, and only one native has yet been promoted to the charge of a district, the tendency to realize native aspirations, which Sir Erskine Perry perceives in British management, cannot be said to have operated very "soon" or to be doing its work very rapidly.

The same process that has attained to such a pitch in Mysore has been steadily carried on in the Assigned Districts of Berar, still possessed in sovereignty by the Nizam, but managed in trust for him by a British Commission, under the Resident at Hyderabad. There are six native officials of the higher class, all designated Extra Assistants, confined to a separate and subordinate list, and excluded from further promotion; while appointments are incessantly multiplied and salaries augmented for European officers of the civil and military services, so that although the two districts of Nuldroog and Raichore Doab were restored to the Nizam in 1860, there is now a larger and much more costly establishment of English officers for the two Berars than there was for the four provinces before 1860. The two districts now form two Commissionerships, and by a General Order dated 18th July of last year, are subdivided into five districts, each with its Deputy-Commissioner. East and West Berar until 1860 were under one Commissioner and two Deputy-Commissioners,—now there are two Commissioners and five Deputy-Commissioners, with a proportionate increase in the number of European Assistants. At the same time, as I am informed on the best possible authority, while this utterly unnecessary addition is made to the numbers and emoluments of the European agency, the Tahsildars are insufficiently paid, and their number might be most usefully increased. There is an extraordinary temptation to lavish expenditure in the Assigned Districts of Hyderabad, because no economy can bring profit to the British Government, all surplus revenues being payable to the Nizam's treasury. The preposterous jobbery which I have described, and which still flourishes,—for it is understood that in order to produce perfect symmetry in the two Commissionerships, a sixth Deputy-Commissioner is to be added to West Berar,—could not have attained its present height, and could not be further extended, if the Nizam's Minister, or some native of rank as a Councillor or Commissioner, had been or were to be associated with the Resident in the government of these Provinces, or if native Councillors had seats in the Executive Council of India.

Another abuse has crept into the organization of these Berar Provinces, very offensive, and, as I shall show, injurious to the Hyderabad Government, in consequence of the total absence of the native element from the counsels by which the Assigned Districts are guided. When the Provinces were first demanded to provide for the pay of the Hyderabad Contingent, our Government was very desirous to obtain their cession in full sovereignty. To this the Nizam was inexorably opposed, and when he at last consented to assign them to British management under Treaty in 1853, he was very averse to concede two points,—firstly, to assign the districts "in perpetuity;" secondly, to allow them to be placed under any other superintendence than that of the Resident at his Court. He thus maintained the close connection of those provinces with his own capital, and the prospect of their ultimate restoration to his direct rule. After a long diplomatic struggle, renewed with redoubled ardour in 1860, when two districts were restored, the Nizam was successful in excluding the words "perpetually" or "in perpetuity," from the treaty, and in providing that the provinces should be governed through no other agency but that of the Resident. The plan of our Foreign Office, to which the Nizam could not be got to consent, was that of placing the two Berars under the Chief Commissioner; or as he then, with this augmented territorial sway, would have probably been called, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Central Provinces, of which the capital city is Nagpore. This plan having become for the time incapable of direct enforcement, the local British authorities, with the concurrence of the Calcutta Secretariat, have devised and gradually

introduced a partial amalgamation of Departments in the Assigned Districts and Central Provinces, which is calculated indirectly to lead to the same result. One officer is appointed to be Conservator of Forests, another to be Cotton Commissioner, another to be Inspector of Prisons, another to be Superintendent of Vaccination, in the Central Provinces and in the Assigned Districts. It is understood that very shortly the Director of Public Instruction and the Registrar-General of the Central Provinces will have the Assigned Districts added to their range of duty.* The Revenue Survey and Settlement Departments of the Assigned Districts have also been recently placed under the control of the Home Department at Calcutta, instead of the Foreign Department.† All these measures, in which neither the Nizam, nor his Minister, nor any person representing their views, has any voice, obviously contribute to facilitate the future transfer of the Assigned Districts to the Central Provinces, and indeed to effect that transfer, in fact though not in name, by a process of gradual conversion. The Forest Department collects revenue, and is inseparably connected with the Revenue Department. If one source of revenue in the two sets of Provinces is under the same official head, why should not one authority suffice for all sources of revenue? If prison discipline in the two sets of Provinces can be satisfactorily managed by one officer, why should not the police in them both be placed under one authority,—why not judicial affairs? The principle of amalgamation once admitted can be easily extended, until the Nizam finds his two Provinces of Berar, contrary to the express stipulations of the treaty, virtually identified with the Central Provinces, and practically governed from Nagpore, instead of from his own capital.

The system of jobbery which I have described has overstocked Mysore and the Assigned Districts with overpaid English officers, while the native officials are overworked, underpaid, degraded, and disheartened. But the worst defect in the system, because it is a permanent and growing defect, is that it entirely defeats what ought to be the chief object of managing the whole or part of an allied and protected State. That object, which would certainly never be lost sight of by native Councillors in the Executive Government, ought to be that of forming a school of public servants for the native state, who might be capable of carrying on and perpetuating the reformed institutions which are introduced by the paramount power. The system that has hitherto been pursued in such cases renders the vital engraftment of reformed institutions impracticable in itself and unpalatable to those whom it ought to be our aim to convert to our views. By all the higher appointments being reserved for English officers, the native officials have no opportunity of practising or proving their abilities to uphold and work the new institutions. The working of the machine is made to depend so entirely upon English correspondence and English forms; that if the English officers were suddenly withdrawn, the whole fabric would fall into confusion and ruin. At the same time British administration presenting to the native prince and his ministers, and even to the native officials who have taken part in it, a scene of proscription and contempt for their own race, none of them feel any great wish to preserve so much of it as they have been able to understand. Thus, for example, the reformed institutions of the Assigned Districts instead of forming, as they ought, a model to be imitated by the Nizam's government, and a school of administration for the other Provinces of Hyderabad, have served rather to disgust the governing classes of that State with British interference, and have conferred political instruction upon no class at all.

Let us now turn to one of our own minor governments, the Central Provinces. The greater part of which was annexed in 1854, on the death of the late Rajah of Nagpore without male issue,—not, I may say, *en passant*, without an heir,—and let us see whether Sir Erskine Perry's vision of the advancement of "the interests and special claims of natives of rank and education to a share in the Government," has been realized there or not. There is the usual number, according to the Punjab system, of English officers in every department,—Commissioners, Deputy-Commissioners, and their Assistants. Not only has no native been as yet placed in charge of a district, but no native has been admitted to that list of Assistants who are eligible for further promotion. Yet that list contains the names of 7 Uncovenanted Europeans. There are 26 Extra Assistants in the Central Provinces, but 12 of these are Uncovenanted Europeans or East Indians; only 14 are natives.

There are, however, 9 native Deputy-Collectors in the Revenue Settlement, 1 native Assistant in the Police, and 1 native Assistant of the lowest grade in the Department

* 'Bombay Gazette,' 6th November, 1867.

† 'Indian Daily News,' 25th October, 1867.

of Public Works. There are thus altogether 25 natives holding respectable fifth-rate appointments in the Central Provinces, with no prospects, according to routine and custom, of ever rising to any charge such as that of a district. On the other hand, besides the 7 Assistants and 12 Extra Assistants whom we know by their names to be Uncovenanted Europeans, or East Indians, there are 4 officials of the same class in the Customs, 3 in the Revenue Settlement, 3 in the Conservation of Forests, 12 in the Police, and 22 in the Public Works Department,—in all 63 Uncovenanted Europeans.

In his recently published letter of 10th August last, in answer to Sir John Lawrence's circular of inquiry as to the comparative popularity of native and British rule, Sir Richard Temple, now resident at Hyderabad and for several years Commissioner of Nagpore and the Central Provinces,—a man by no means likely to have a bias in favour of Orientalism,—says: "I have on the whole a favourable opinion of the administration of the Nagpore country by the Mahratta Sovereigns of the Bhonsla House. There were many excellent points about their rule; but some of these were owing to the care of British officers, such as Sir Richard Jenkins, Colonel Wilkinson, and others." That is the true work for the Protecting Power to undertake in the minor states,—friendly instruction, not sweeping destruction.

It is satisfactory to be able to adduce Sir Richard Temple's testimony to contradict the exaggerated calumnies as to the disorder and oppression prevailing in Nagpore, which were allowed to weigh in the balance against that state, when the question of its further existence was debated in 1854. One might naturally suppose that within the bounds of a state like Nagpore which, to say the least, was tolerably well governed, there might have been found by this time one or two native officials fit for the charge of a district, after a probation of fourteen years. If not, surely there must have been some deserving native officers in other provinces, who might have been brought in. The Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, forming a large part of the Central Provinces, were conquered from the Nagpore Rajah in 1818. Nagpore was annexed in 1854,—the native sovereignty abolished, and all the Rajah's great officials pensioned or turned adrift. Eight or ten of the second-rate officers were employed as Extra Assistants.

And now in 1868 how is the official hierarchy of these reunited provinces constituted? Fifty years have elapsed since the conquest of one portion; fourteen years since the so-called "lapse" of the other. All the best offices, nearly a hundred in number, utterly unattainable by natives, are held by civilians and military officers, in addition to whom no less than 63 Uncovenanted Europeans and East Indians have been introduced into the country. 25 fifth-rate appointments are enjoyed by natives.

Would this cruel state of things be possible if there were the least infusion of the native element in the Executive Councils of the Empire?

Let us now see how matters stand in this respect in the Madras Presidency, a great part of which has been in our actual possession for seventy years, and under our influence for more than a hundred. Have Sir Erskine Perry's visions been realized in these old settlements? The Madras Presidency contains a population of twenty-two millions; the facilities for education have greatly increased during the last twenty years; the higher class of schools and the University turn out annually numbers of well-educated young men. Not one of these young men can enter on the public service with duties suitable to his qualifications and acquirements. To attain the place of a Deputy-Collector, where all promotion ceases, beneath the authority of the youngest English Assistant, he must rise from the ranks by a slow and painful process, commencing in a very subordinate and almost menial position. But how many native Deputy-Collectors are there among this population of twenty-two millions? It must be remembered that practically these Deputy-Collectorships and the Principal Sudder Ameerhips are the only available prizes of long and meritorious service. There are not four other offices held by natives in the Madras Presidency that are of higher emolument.

There are 55 Deputy-Collectors, and of these 24 are English or East Indian. Only 31 are natives. Out of the 17 last names on the list, those most recently appointed, 9, more than half, are English. The share of appointments allotted to natives appears to be steadily decreasing. The demand for Uncovenanted appointments by English applicants is as steadily increasing. These applicants are in many, perhaps in most cases, the sons of old civil or military officers, who have failed from

want of interest, intellect, or industry, to obtain a commission in the Army or admission to the Civil Service. Although the fathers have no interest at home, they have interest at the Presidency; and they have constant access to the Governor, whom they persecute until he provides for their sons. They may be in many instances very good men, but their intrusion into the list of Deputy-Collectors at a very early age, to the detriment of hundreds of natives of tried service and proved qualifications, is the result of no personal claims, of no special competence, but of mere private interest and persevering solicitation.

Observe on what different terms the native and the English Deputy-Collector start. The native has toiled for years, and is a thoroughly efficient and experienced public servant. The Englishman, in most cases, is very young, just commencing life, as ignorant of practical work and local affairs as a newly arrived civilian, and without the superior education which the latter must have acquired. Yet the English Deputy-Collector is placed on the same footing as the native, and rises far above men of double his age and service by sheer dint of his youth on entering the field.

No one, who has not had opportunities of remarking these matters, can conceive the pressure that is brought to bear on a Governor to induce him to make appointments such as I have described, and I cannot see how that constant pressure is to be counter-balanced except by placing near the Governor, in a position of dignity and influence, some accredited representatives of the far more important and solid interests and claims of native public servants, and of the general population. The disproportionate share of appointments which falls to the lot of English and East Indian candidates does not, generally speaking, constitute a valuable part of the Governor's patronage. Occasionally he may be enabled to serve an old friend, but for the most part these places are virtually given away by some of the Members of Council or the Secretaries. I believe that no one would be more grateful for that counterbalancing pressure which I have recommended, would be more relieved by it, and would feel his hands more strengthened for good by it, than the Governors and Governor-General.

There is another very important sphere of administration in which the special knowledge and sympathies, and the counterbalancing pressure of native Councillors, are required to enlighten and influence the Executive Government,—I mean the internal discipline of the public service, and the settlement of those differences which will sometimes arise between subordinate officers and the heads of departments. In such cases at present the native official has no one to take his part, or to secure him a fair trial, while every successive authority through whom a complaint or an appeal passes, is more or less acquainted or allied with the English officer, and would feel his defeat by a malcontent native almost a personal insult to himself. With a perfectly sincere wish to do justice, the bias and prejudice are too strong to be overcome where there is the least opening for doubt. This has been the frequent subject of remark by all who have brought an impartial judgment to bear upon the matter. In 1853 Mr. Francis Horsley Robinson, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, in a pamphlet entitled, 'What Good may come out of the India Bill,' said:—"Another source of discontent among the natives is the partiality shown to the European servants of Government, especially to the members of the Civil Service, and the severity with which the offences of natives are visited." And then he mentions the particulars of a few specimen cases, within his own knowledge, in which for exactly the same offence the native officer is dismissed the service,—the English civilian privately reprimanded, and in one very bad case suspended for six weeks. When there happens to be a collision between a native and an English official the obstacles to even-handed justice become almost insurmountable. In a dissent from a dispatch of the Secretary of State in a case of this description in 1861, Sir Erskine Perry observed:—"It is a common complaint amongst the natives of India that, on alleged offences committed by them whilst in office, the same measure of justice is not held out to them which is applied to Europeans, and this case appears to me to afford a complete exemplification of their complaint."

Perhaps I cannot give a better illustration of the style in which these cases are often treated than by briefly adverting to the one which called forth Sir Erskine Perry's dissent. I must give a case or two to show that I am not dealing in vague imputations.

Meerza Ali Akbar was attached as Moonshee on the political establishment of Sir Charles Napier during the conquest of Scinde. In his dispatch written from the

battle-field of Meeanee, Sir Charles Napier wrote:—"Nor will I omit to mention the Moonshee, Ali Akbar, who exhibited the coolest courage and attended me everywhere." After the battle of Hyderabad his testimony was equally emphatic. "I will not close the list of those to whom I am indebted without mentioning that brave and indefatigable Arab gentleman, Ali Akbar, to whose ability and activity I am much indebted." He also wrote as follows to the Government of India:—"Ali Akbar, the Moonshee to the Government of Scinde, has exhibited the greatest gallantry in battle both at Meeanee and Hyderabad, and has, in every way, by his incessant labours in obtaining information on every point, contributed as much, if not more, than any individual to the success of the campaign in Scinde; I most strongly recommend him for the Order of Merit." The title of Khan Bahadoor was conferred upon Meerza Ali Akbar by the Supreme Government in 1844. In a speech at a public dinner given in his honour at Bombay, Sir Charles Napier said:—"In the wars of Scinde there were some officers who did more for me than I did for them. One of whom I shall speak is my Moonshee, Ali Akbar. This man stood by me in the day of danger; he was of the greatest assistance to me throughout the campaign in Scinde; he was my tongue. Ali Akbar did more for the conquest of Scinde than a thousand soldiers would have done." Colonel, afterwards Sir James, Outram, before leaving Scinde, addressed Meerza Ali Akbar in a letter in which he called him his "friend," and which contained the following sentence:—"It is with truth and in mere justice to you, Ali Akbar, that I declare I never witnessed services by any native of India more zealous, more able, or more honest than such as you have rendered to Government, under me, as head Moonshee to the Lower Scinde Agency, for three years past, and to that of Upper Scinde and Beloochistan for the last fifteen months, during which you have shared all the exposure and arduous services I have myself had to undergo, and have aided me in many important services." In 1845 a fraudulent bankrupt, on whose estate Meerza Ali Akbar had a claim, with the object of evading the settlement of that claim, and gaining time to abscond with his property, wrote from Bombay to Sir Charles Napier, then Governor of Scinde, informing him that remittances to a large amount, upwards of 90,000 rupees, had been sent to him by Meerza Ali Akbar, within the previous three years, and professing to feel some alarm at the possibility of some demand being made against him by Government. The explanation of these transactions given by Ali Akbar to Sir Charles Napier, in communication with the Supreme Government, was considered satisfactory. In 1848, after the departure of Sir Charles Napier, Scinde was placed under the Bombay Government. No sooner had Sir Charles Napier left Scinde than the attack on Ali Akbar—I cannot call it the *charge*, for none was ever made against him—was revived by direction of the Bombay Government; he was suspended from office, and Sir Charles Napier's successor, Mr. Pringle, of the Bombay Civil Service, was ordered to re-investigate the circumstances under which the suspected remittances were made. He did so; and reported to the Bombay Government that "the evidence procurable from the parties cognizant of these transactions and the registry of the bills, was consistent with the account" given by Meerza Ali Akbar. He was "of opinion that the Moonshee was entitled to credit for his account of the transaction, in the absence of any proof to the contrary beyond the suspicion arising from the magnitude of the sum." He observed that no specific charge had been made by any one against Meerza Ali Akbar,—a strong point in his favour, if we consider that the suspension of a public servant generally acts as a stimulus and invitation to his enemies,—and that no imputation had been cast upon him except by "persons of notoriously bad character," and "common defamers," who would not "come forward when called upon to do so." He was of opinion "with advertence to the high esteem which Sir Charles Napier is known to have entertained for the character and services of Ali Akbar, that nothing should be done derogatory to the respectability, or injurious to the fortune of that officer; that his services should be transferred to some other quarter, or that he should be allowed to retire on a pension." He concluded by saying that he should, in any case, "be sorry to be deprived of an officer so efficient in the business of his department as in my own experience I have always found Meerza Ali Akbar Khan Bahadoor to be." At this time Meerza Ali Akbar was in receipt of a salary of 520 rupees a-month, and had been recommended by Sir Charles Napier for a pension of 200 rupees a-month on retirement. The subsequent history of the case you shall hear in the words of Sir Erskine Perry. "On the first bringing forward the charge against him by a fraudulent debtor of his in Bombay, he had the opportunity of making a defence personally before

the authorities in Scinde, under whom he served; and after an investigation, extending over five months, he was substantially acquitted. But the Bombay Government not being satisfied with this decision, applied to the Supreme Court for a mass of documentary evidence which had been taken in other suits then pending, most of which was wholly irrelevant; and without his knowledge of the evidence they brought against him, and without calling upon him for his defence, they condemned him, and by a majority of two against one, they dismissed him from the service with ignominy. The same objections apply to the subsequent re-investigation of the case by Mr. (now Sir Bartle) Frere."

This "re-investigation" simply consisted in Sir Bartle Frere, Commissioner of Scinde, in 1856, eleven years after the origin of the case, going through all the papers once more, and by his own acknowledgment failing to find the proof of any offence against Ali Akbar. Sir Bartle Frere thinks, however,—most erroneously, as could easily be shown if we had time to analyze the evidence carefully,—that he has detected an inconsistency between two accounts given by Ali Akbar at different times of the sources from which his property was derived. On this he makes the following remarks:—"It is of course not impossible that, notwithstanding this inconsistency, the money may have been honestly acquired. But it is for the memorialist to prove this, if he can, when he asks Government to reconsider *their verdict of want of confidence*."* I cannot sufficiently admire that euphuistic phrase, "a verdict of want of confidence," when Ali Akbar had been suspended without payment for a year, and then dismissed the service with ignominy, without a pension and without being called upon for his defence! Sir Bartle Frere says that it is for Ali Akbar to prove that the money was "honestly acquired." Surely it is rather incumbent upon the Government to prove, or at least to allege, that it was dishonestly acquired. No one has done so. No one has ever appeared to accuse Ali Akbar of corruption, embezzlement, or dishonesty of any description. He was suspended on suspicion; he was condemned on suspicion; and those suspicions were never communicated to him until sentence had been passed.

And now you shall hear what those suspicions were. Sir Bartle Frere tells us in the last paragraph of his report. "Judging of Ali Akbar by the reputation he has left behind him in the Province, I find that, while general repute fully bears out the opinions of his ability expressed by his successive superiors, Colonel Outram, Sir Charles Napier, and Mr. Pringle, he is universally regarded as a most corrupt and unscrupulous man, who made use of his opportunities as Moonshee and Interpreter to the Governor to obtain large sums as bribes, or rather as propitiatory presents, from all wealthy natives who had business with the Governor."†

Remember that not one specific charge or complaint had been made against the Moonshee, although eleven years had elapsed since the first suspicion against him arose, and although the Government had been searching for evidence against him, ever since his suspension, and you will be able to appreciate the value of what is here called "general repute" and "universal regard." The Commissioner continues:—"All this may be unfounded and unjust,"—in itself a full admission that there was no case,—but there was nothing about him to excite unjust prejudice against him; he was popular with all, both Europeans and natives; and when so many of both classes, who had fair opportunities of judging,—this is *judging* with a vengeance,—and were rather prejudiced in his favour, look on him as an unscrupulous though clever and agreeable rogue, it would take a great deal to persuade me that Government did him an injustice in deeming him unworthy of confidence, and refusing to continue him any longer in their service, or that they can now be reasonably asked to pension him."‡

Thus Ali Akbar, unaccused, untried, unheard, was, in Sir Bartle Frere's words, judged by "the reputation he left behind him in the Province." Can any one believe that such a process would ever have been put in force against the youngest and most insignificant English officer, even if he had been in the Unconvenanted Service? Would any British Commissioner or Governor in any part of the world, have ventured to write of any English officer, however bad his reputation, that he was generally considered "as an unscrupulous, though clever and agreeable rogue?" Above all, would any English officer have been condemned, unheard, on mere scandal? Cases such as this would be impossible, if there were one or two intelligent and experienced native Councillors in the Executive Government of Bombay and Calcutta.

It is now nearly three years since I last saw Meerza Ali Akbar; whether he is in

* Parliamentary Papers, Meerza Ali Akbar, 1858, (No. 159) p. 29.

† Ibid. p. 30.

‡ Ibid. p. 31.

England, or in India,—whether, indeed, he be alive or dead, I am not aware. I have only had the pleasure of meeting him twice, and I have never talked over the subject of his own case with him. I know nothing of his case from any source of information but the Blue Books, which are sure to contain all that can be said against him. I have derived, from a careful examination of this case the painful conviction, forced upon me by other similar occurrences, that, except under very favourable and fortunate circumstances, a native of high courage and brilliant talent has less chance of attaining and keeping a good official position under our present system of Government, than a man of smaller ability and timid character. Has any one present ever heard of any native receiving such earnest and enthusiastic testimony to his merits and services, as Ali Akbar received from Sir Charles Napier and Sir James Outram, two men who generally agreed to differ on all subjects? Sir Charles Napier said he was of more value than a thousand soldiers. He seems to me to have been indeed one in a thousand. I doubt if there were, when he was ignominiously dismissed, ten men of any race or rank in India who were of equal value to the public service. He was worth at least fifty of the common run of covenanted or commissioned Browns, Joneses, and Robinsons. He was exactly the man whom our Government ought to have grappled to its heart with hooks of steel. Ali Akbar appears to me to have been sacrificed in consequence of two causes, both arising from the characteristic defect of our rule in India, its want of a due admixture of the native element. Firstly, Ali Akbar was really suspected,—I have no doubt of that, though I believe he was unjustly suspected,—even those who believe that there were good grounds for suspicion may well agree with me that he should not have been condemned unheard; but although no amount of scandal and rumour would be allowed to weigh as a hair in the balance against an English official, or to deprive him of any facility for hearing the charge against him and making a full defence, it is practically sufficient to justify the ruin of a native that he has become the object of the strong suspicion or dislike of the British authorities. Ali Akbar was disliked at Bombay; he became suspected, and his doom was sealed. Secondly,—when once any British authority above the rank of an Assistant-Collector has pronounced his verdict of want of confidence—as we have just heard it called—against a native officer, it seems next to impossible to have that verdict reversed on appeal. British authority must always be supported.

The other case which I propose briefly to place before you in outline, as an illustration of the crying want of some protection for native rights and interests in the heart of the Executive Government, is that of a Deputy-Collector of the Madras Presidency, named Nursima Puntulu. This Deputy-Collector was summarily dismissed from Government employ, after upwards of twenty-three years' service with unblemished character, without a pension. In the Order of the Governor in Council which effected his dismissal no cause is assigned except that they "cannot place confidence in him." During Nursima Puntulu's absence in May, 1865, from the district where he had been in charge of the Treasury, the Collector had brought certain charges against him with reference to an alleged irregular issue of Currency notes. These charges, founded on reports furnished by the Acting Deputy-Collector who eventually obtained his place, were declared by the Accountant-General, to whom they were referred, to be quite insignificant, unless it could be shown that Nursima Puntulu "had derived some pecuniary benefit" from the alleged irregularities. Immediately after the Accountant-General's letter showing the insufficiency of the original charges, additional accusations were made, founded on fresh reports from the Acting Deputy-Collector, upon which new charges, unheard of before, were founded, tending to prove that Nursima Puntulu had derived that pecuniary benefit which could alone, as the Accountant-General pointed out, give any culpability to his proceedings. These new charges were forwarded by the Collector to the Board of Revenue, in a letter in which he suggests either "the immediate removal from office," or "the immediate suspension" of Nursima Puntulu. The accused, who was at that time on leave at the Presidency, on being informed of these charges, at once challenged a judicial inquiry. The Government of Madras refused to send the case for trial before any tribunal except that of the Collector who had confessedly prejudged it, and in their order on the subject, the Government ostentatiously prejudged it themselves, by saying that "there is no room to doubt the truth of the charges." Nursima Puntulu appeared before the Collector, but on the refusal of that officer to put questions to the witnesses which he, the defendant, considered of importance, he declined to continue any cross-

examination, but recorded a written defence, and a protest against the manner in which the inquiry had been conducted, and the harsh personal treatment he had received. The Government of Madras "entirely approved of the manner in which the inquiry was conducted by the Collector," and finally they summarily dismiss Nursima Puntulu from the service, without recapitulating the charges against him, or asserting that he has been convicted of any offence whatever. Now whatever may be thought of these charges, of the evidence to support them, and of Nursima Puntulu's defence, he was virtually condemned unheard, and without anything like a judicial inquiry having taken place. But it did not end there. Nursima Puntulu determined to take every possible step to clear his character by the judgment of some competent public tribunal. He therefore brought a civil action for damages in the High Court of Madras, in April, 1866, against the Collector, his accuser and judge, for libel and defamation of character. The Government appearing for the Collector, declined to go into the merits of the case, pleaded want of jurisdiction, and having previously decided not to prosecute Nursima Puntulu for the alleged malversations, now had him apprehended as a criminal, and he was confined in the jail at Madras during the progress of the civil suit. The point of "no jurisdiction," reserved by the presiding judge, was decided in favour of the Government, and the case was dismissed. Nursima Puntulu was then taken back to the district of Kurnool in custody, tried on a charge of criminal breach of trust and misappropriation of public money, before the Sessions Judge, and *fully acquitted*.

He then applied to the Government of Madras for a reconsideration of his case, which was refused, and the Government also refused to forward his appeal to the Secretary of State for India.

Time will not admit of my making any further comments on this case. I will only add that I bring no charge of bad faith against the Government or against the Collector. I am sure that none of the persons who pursued Nursima Puntulu to his ruin, were actuated by conscious or deliberate injustice. Owing to the absence of any native representatives in the Executive Government, the prejudices, the predilections, and the sympathies of the men in power are exclusively with the English gentlemen who monopolize the higher offices under Government. In dealing with native officials, and natives in general, a quite different set of weights and measures are used from what are applied to transactions in which Europeans are concerned. If any charge is brought against an English official, every fair advantage is given to him, and he is allowed the benefit of every doubt in his favour, whatever may be his reputation, whatever may be his demeanour; but if a native once becomes the object of dislike and suspicion, he can no longer be tolerated, and if no regular charge can be proved against him, he is summarily condemned and punished.

Until the prospects of the native officials are improved by a more liberal share of promotion, and their prospects secured by a more equitable practice of administering discipline, the public service in India will never arrive at a healthy condition.

I can see no hope of these standing abuses being rectified, of the balance of fair dealing and equal justice being restored, except by the liberal admission of native members to the Executive Councils of Government.*

MR. CHISHOLM ANSTEV.—Sir, I feel some difficulty in addressing myself to all the subjects of the paper which has just been read, because it appears to me that, according to the rule which is in force, I should not have time to do so with effect. I understood when invited to attend here, that we were merely asked to consider the propriety of stating our decided opinion in favour of the eligibility of the natives of India to high office. Now on that question I am quite prepared to express a very plain and simple opinion—it is this—I stand by the law which declares every native eligible to the highest office, provided he is in other respects capable to fill it; therefore there is no occasion for any further expression of opinion. The law having made that declaration, I apprehend it is not intended that we should go further and say that an unfit person should be eligible to be appointed to office. I must say I deeply regret the line of argument which has been adopted by the gallant and able author of the paper just read. It appears to me first of all not a legitimate nor a just line of argument, for several reasons. It is not legitimate, because if we admit every one of the statements in that paper to be true, they do not advance the just and righteous claim of the natives of India to preferment according to their merits. The only conclusion to which we can come,

* This Paper is printed as altered by Major Bell.

supposing those facts are true is, that great and grievous wrong has been done in the particular instances adduced, and perhaps in many more; and that the guilty have escaped punishment whilst the innocent have suffered. That I am sorry to say has characterized the history of our Indian administration throughout the last century, more or less, and it has also characterized our colonial administration in every part of the globe; and I am still more sorry to say, because justice ought to be more easily had at home, that our imperial administration is not in that respect free from reproach. But how can that lamentable fact, highly discreditable as it is to our free constitution and the character of our people, in any way advance the cause which I understood it is the object of the gallant gentleman to promote, namely, the speedy and general admission of natives to high office? Is it contended that the injustice was done because the actors were of the white race, of the Christian religion, and of the British people? Because if it is I say it is an unjust accusation against all people of one colour, of one creed, and of one nation, happening at this time to find themselves on the soil of India. Is it contended on the other hand, that there is no such thing as injustice (not to pursue the subject into more painful detail) to be found amongst the native races? Take this very presidency over which Sir Bartle Frere, who has been named, but lately presided. Take the case, the infamous and atrocious case, of one of the best and most high-minded of Mahratta gentlemen, Baba Furké. Who was his persecutor? Nursoo Punt, his fellow-countryman, who happened to enjoy, unhappily for the administration of British India, the confidence of the European Government. For years Baba Furké was on the very brink of starvation as he had already passed that of disgrace, and not till the last two or three years of his life was he re-instated in his position, through the influence of Sir James Outram with the government at home, the undeserved confidence of the government in Nursoo Punt having in the meantime been entirely withdrawn from him. Shall we therefore bring a charge against all Mahrattas because Nursoo Punt nearly succeeded in destroying his fellow-countryman Baba Furké? Certainly not. But it would be as right for me to come to that conclusion as it would be to rush into the opposite extreme and say, that inasmuch as Nursoo Punt had colleagues and patrons who were of the British nation, that calamity therefore befel Baba Furké, and would not have happened if Nursoo Punt had been left to himself to act alone without any co-operation at all. Crime is of no nation and no creed, as virtue is of no nation and no creed; and capacity and fitness for office are of no nation and no creed. And whilst I am fully prepared to see the law administered with liberality as well as justice, which says that natives shall be eligible to office, I am equally prepared to say nay to the proposition that a person otherwise unfit for office, whether by intellect or in respect of his morality, shall be selected because he is a native. But there are other points of view, in which I deeply regret the line of argument which has been adopted. Nobody (at least I speak for myself when I say nobody) could have foreseen from a notice about Bengal that it would be necessary to come here fully prepared to consider Sindh or Madras grievances. Yet, unprepared by some study of the matters of charge, it is impossible for anyone of us to come to a vote aye or no, upon the question, Are these things so? I do not see how it is possible for me to give any vote in favour of any proposition beyond that of the adjournment of the discussion *sine die*, which will not be misinterpreted, for it might either mean I approve of what was done in the case of Ali Akbar, of whose case I am sorry to say I have heard very little and know nothing, or else it might be said that I come to the opposite conclusion. I have no opinion on the point one way or the other, and having no opinion one way or the other, I think I ought not to express it; therefore whatever may be proposed to the meeting from the chair founded upon that paper, I shall crave leave to withdraw without expressing any opinion upon it by my vote. Now with regard to the particular question of the fitness of the natives of India for a share in the Executive Government, I crave leave to make one brief remark, and it is this. They are eligible as I have said before to sit in the Executive Council as Scotchmen are eligible, as Irishmen are eligible, as Englishmen are eligible, and as every class of Her Majesty's subjects are eligible; but it must not be forgotten that when you proceed to the selection of members to sit in the Executive Council, you must be guided by altogether other considerations from those which would dictate the choice of persons to sit in any other council in the Queen's service. What is the Executive Council? Everybody knows that it is a secret and confidential council of persons selected for one purpose only, that is, to advise the Governor-General who selects them. With whom must the

choice of an adviser rest? Surely with the person to be advised. What would you say, if being placed in a position of great trust and directed to govern by the advice of such persons as, exercising the power which the law gives you in that regard, you should call around you, you were told at the same time, nevertheless you shall not choose them, they shall be chosen for you. You may think that four men whom you have in your eye are the best advisers that you can have, or any person in your position can have around you, you shall not choose them, though you may be of opinion that there is no other class of people in which you can find men equally fitted to advise you; nay, though you may be of opinion that there is one class from which it is impossible for you at the present time to make a selection without great injury to the public service, you must make a selection from that class.

CHAIRMAN.—I think the subject under discussion has more reference to the claims of the natives than to the actual selection.

MR. CHISHOLM ANSTEE.—But if that be the case, we are already agreed, for there is no disputed claim. The law has recognized their eligibility to the fullest extent. But if it is proposed, with reference, for instance, to the reconstruction of the Government of Bengal, (for that is what I understand from the agenda before us is pointed at, and I am now speaking with great impartiality, for except as a stranger who has twice visited Bengal, I know nothing of that Presidency, and therefore I am influenced neither by feelings of hatred nor affection in regard to what I am going to say), if it is said with reference to this particular Council or Government which it is proposed to reconstruct, that now is the appointed time, now is the moment at which you must come forward and say to the Government, there must be in the Executive Council, which is to advise the Governor in administering the affairs of that Presidency, a certain proportion of persons of a particular race, whether he can find eligible persons of that race or not, I say you are going to do both an unwise thing and an unjust thing. And to make my meaning more clear to my native friends present, I will suppose that it is not the case of the natives of India. I will suppose some gentleman to have lately crossed over from the other side of the Atlantic to trouble our peace, having some years ago crossed the same ocean in the opposite direction for having troubled it. Suppose one of the gentlemen who are giving so much occupation to our Courts Criminal, both here and in Ireland, were to come forward and say, that the great grievance of Ireland is, that you have not in the Privy Council, that you have not in the Cabinet Council, a number of Irishmen representing the numerical proportion which the population of Ireland bears to the rest of the United Kingdom, what would you say? You would say, it is no grievance at all, inasmuch as it does not exactly suit the purpose for which councils are constituted, to take into consideration at all the question of nationalities and their numerical strength. It may be that at one period, Scotland, for example, is not actually producing men suited to sit in the councils of the State. In the next generation she may be producing an over-abundance of such men. In fact that has been the case of Ireland. In the last generation, Ireland was powerful in statesmen. Of late she has not sent forth many men of mark. How are you to draw a line, and say because the population of Ireland compared with the rest of the Kingdom is as 7,000,000 to 30,000,000, therefore every Court of Justice in any part of the United Kingdom, every Council, whether the Privy Council, which advises the Queen in the administration of the affairs of the whole empire, or the Privy Council of Ireland, shall be so constituted that in every one of those bodies there shall be exactly one-fourth, no matter what the fitness of the persons may be, of men whose only qualification is, that they are natives of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland? That would be exactly the proposition which I am opposing here if proposed as to India. Is it now proposed to go beyond what the law enacts, and to say, not only are the natives of India to be accounted eligible to the highest office, but because they are eligible, therefore they shall be chosen? If you merely mean to say (which is what I understand by the suggestion from the chair) that all you are called upon to do is to recognize their claim, it will be a barren recognition, it will be a useless recognition, because the law, which is far more important than any vote of this East India Association, has done that already. Nothing can be more clear and express than the language of the statute. If you mean to say on the other hand, that therefore they shall be put into those Councils of the State, and particularly into the Council about to be reconstructed in Bengal, it would be both unwise and unjust; unwise, because you have no security of the fitness of the men you are going to appoint; unjust, because you cannot fill up the Council in that way without

excluding from it persons of superior fitness. Having said thus much, I am bound to say that I speak without prejudice in this matter. If I have any prejudice it is the other way, because I am delighted to think there have been times in India, and the time of our own Government affords no exception, when natives have been taken into the Councils of those who have governed India and become advisers whose fame will never perish. I refer to the prime minister of the great Akbar, I refer to the history of every State of India which preceded our own Raj, and I will even refer to the history of our own Raj too, for, though I am ashamed to think that Warren Hastings had amongst his colleagues or advisers, Debi Sing, and others more open to aspersions, Muhammad Reza Khan was the trusted servant of the Government, and one who in fact, though not in name, performed the functions of councillor to the Governor-General. I am speaking, therefore, entirely without prejudice, and because I wish to guard the native members of this Association against unreasonable hopes, unjust hopes as I consider them, and hopes which would be doomed to disappointment; and it is because I do not wish to see either the expectation or the disappointment of that expectation extended into India, that being here I have addressed you I hope at no undue length.

Sir HENRY RICKETTS.—I wish to ask whether the paper which has been read, as a matter of course, will be printed.

Captain BARBER.—It will be laid before the committee which is about to be formed for the purpose of going through all the matter proposed to be printed in the Journal of the Association.

Sir HENRY RICKETTS.—I ask that question, because I think it must be admitted by all who have heard it, that the paper contains a very severe attack upon Sir Bartle Frere; it impugns not his honesty but his discretion, his penetration, and I think I may say it impugns his fairness. It is an attack upon an absent person, than whom a more sincere friend to the natives does not exist. If attacks of that sort are allowed to be made here and they are printed, I am afraid it will greatly prejudice the Society, the interests of which we are all so anxious to promote. I am inclined to move that the paper be not printed.

CHAIRMAN.—I think these personal attacks are calculated to do the greatest possible injury to our Society. What has been said has been said no doubt in all sincerity and with the full belief that the alleged facts are true; but I do certainly say, that these attacks upon those not present to defend themselves are decidedly objectionable. It seems to me that we came here merely to discuss the *pros* and *cons* of the question of the eligibility or otherwise of the natives of India to a share in the Executive Government. The paper has gone into particular cases of grievance and alleged injustice. I should rather have liked to have stopped it, because I dislike these personal attacks upon those not here to defend themselves. The paper embodies very serious charges against the Governor of Bombay and others, and I think if it were printed it would have the very worst effect upon our Institution.

Mr. CHISHOLM ANSTAY.—I beg to second the motion proposed by Sir Henry Ricketts.

The CHAIRMAN having put the motion that the paper read by Major Evans Bell be not printed,—

Mr. DENT said, that in his opinion, both Sir Henry Ricketts and Mr. Chisholm Anstey were rather mistaken with respect to the cases presented by Major Bell. He believed if Sir Bartle Frere were present, he would not in the slightest degree object to the way in which his name had been mentioned. The cases referred to were cases, the circumstances of which were before Parliament and before the public. He thought the paper should be referred to the managing committee, with a view to decide whether it should or not be printed and circulated. Major Bell had only adduced those cases as instances that the natives were not employed as they ought to be, and that they had not the opportunity of having justice done them as they would have if natives were appointed to high positions. Though he (Mr. Dent) held, and had long held sentiments similar to those in Major Bell's paper, which he considered an extremely valuable paper, he had not come prepared to make any observations upon it, but would merely move as an amendment to the motion of Sir Henry Ricketts, that the paper be referred to the managing committee of the Association to take into consideration the propriety of printing and circulating it.

Mr. NEALE PORTER.—I beg to second Mr. Dent's amendment, though no doubt the championship of the paper is in very good hands, those of its author. As regards Sir Bartle Frere, I have the honour of knowing him very well, and there is no man I

respect more. I agree with Mr. Dent in thinking that he would see nothing in the paper to complain of—he is an extremely fair man—and I believe he would not object to what I cannot call an attack upon Sir Bartle Frere, but a fair criticism of his official conduct. Though there were many points in Major Bell's paper which I should venture to criticize, I thought there was nothing in it which any public man, with proper public spirit, could object to. I shall be happy to second Mr. Dent's amendment, that the paper should be printed, but it is for Major Bell to say whether he will accept the proposal that half of his paper should be struck out.

Mr. DENT.—I dare say Major Bell would not object to its being printed in any shape the committee should consider advisable.

Major BELL.—I should certainly object to its being expurgated.

Mr. DENT.—If personal allusions were considered objectionable, you might perhaps accept the decision of the committee.

Major BELL.—I can only say, I do not think I made any attack upon Sir Bartle Frere. I think the strongest word I used was, that it was a most "unjudicial" investigation. With regard to what are called personal cases, they were not brought forward as grievances.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—I wish to say a few words upon the matter which is now under discussion. I object to personal instances being brought forward in a paper in this manner. All that we came to hear, as we understood, was a paper on the "Eligibility of the Natives of India to a Share in the Executive Council," and we did not come prepared for any specific case of abuse of patronage of the Government, or of injustice. We are not able to form any opinion as to those two cases, because we have not come prepared with their facts. Cases of this kind in which something is to be said on each side, and where individual public acts have to be justified or attacked, require special discussion. In dealing with this question of the claims of natives to a share in the Executive Government, there is no necessity for us to bring forward any such specific cases, nor to specify any particular instances of grievances. When we are discussing any general principle, or advocating the claims of any particular body, such cases cannot either advance or injure the cause. I will reserve the remarks I have to make upon the question of the admission of natives into the Executive Government till this motion is disposed of. Of course, if the motion of Sir Henry Ricketts is agreed to, the discussion on the important part of the paper must also stop; but by adopting Mr. Dent's amendment, the committee would have the opportunity of expunging those parts which they may think objectionable. I think where a gentleman has come forward and taken so much pains to prepare a paper as Major Bell has done, it is not fair on the part of those of us who regard the question from a different point of view, to endeavour to prevent the printing of it; therefore I support what I consider the reasonable proposition made by Mr. Dent.

Mr. MEHTA.—In supporting the amendment proposed by Mr. Dent, said, he did not agree with the dictum of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as to the introduction of special cases in illustration of an argument. He did not consider it was unjust to an audience that such cases should be introduced, without having given previous notice of them. The writer of the paper laid the facts before the meeting, not asking the meeting to come to a conclusion immediately upon those facts, but leaving it to the meeting to go into the facts for themselves; though in his opinion no personal attacks ought to be made, he considered that it was necessary to bring forward special cases to illustrate arguments, otherwise it would be said vague charges had been brought forward against the administration without foundation. The meeting ought not to confound criticism upon official conduct with personal attacks. Major Bell's paper, in his opinion, did not contain a word of personal attack upon anybody whatever. He had only referred to certain facts recorded in the Blue Book, and had formed his judgment upon them. That Blue Book was a public book open to everybody. If such reference to cases and such comments upon them were to be called personal attacks, there could be no criticism whatever upon official conduct.

General BRIGGS supported Mr. Dent's amendment; having stated that no person admired Sir Bartle Frere more than he did himself, he put it to the meeting whether, seeing that the facts stated by Major Bell had been already published in public records, there could be any objection to the same facts being republished in the Journal.

Major BELL stated that he would be quite willing to be bound by the views of the Association generally. Though he felt a very strong objection to his paper being expurgated, he would abide by the rules of the Association. Therefore, if the Con-

mittee chose to expurgate any part of the paper he would submit, though he did not admit that he had made a personal attack upon Sir Bartle Frere, for whom he entertained the greatest respect and admiration as a public servant; at the same time he was not bound to admit that he was infallible. The strongest word he had used, he found, was "unjudicial" proceeding, and he certainly adhered to that word.

The CHAIRMAN put the amendment: That the paper be referred to a Select Committee of the Managing Committee for their decision as to the advisability of its being printed in the Journal. The amendment was declared to be carried.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—Upon the question of the admission of the natives into the Executive Council, I as a native should be most anxious to see everything done that can be legitimately done for natives. It rather goes against the grain that in this instance I do not quite agree with Major Bell. The difficulty I feel is simply this; the native certainly cannot ask anything more than is allowed to the Englishman. How does the Englishman get into the Executive Council? Only by going through the Civil Service regularly. How can natives ask for the privilege of entering the Executive Council without having passed through that service at the same time that that privilege is not accorded to Englishmen? I understand that there is no admission into the Executive Council from the Uncovenanted Service, and in fact the Executive Council seems to be something like the last prize obtainable by a man in the Covenanted Service. Military service being entirely shut to the natives, there is only the Civil Service available for them, and it is as regards the entrance of the natives into that Civil Service that the difficulty at present principally lies. What is wanted is that the natives should be placed exactly on the footing of Englishmen, and that all the obstacles and artificial difficulties in the way of their admission into the Covenanted Civil Service should be removed. The natives would then be able to rise like Europeans into the Executive Council if the Executive Council is to be continued as at present; but I do not see how the natives can ask for this privilege of admission into the Executive Government (without going through the Civil Service) which is not extended to Europeans, who according to the existing constitution of the Executive Council pass first through the service. It appears to me therefore that such a request on the part of the natives of India (unless the constitution of the Executive Council is entirely changed, the desirability of which requires a separate consideration by itself) that they should be allowed a privilege which is not accorded to Europeans is a request which the natives ought never to ask. They ought not to ask for anything one-sided or which would give peculiar privileges to themselves. They should ask on every occasion to be put on an equal footing with all the other subjects of Her Majesty. If we can break through the chief obstacle in our way, *viz.* the entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service, then the natives of India would have as much chance of rising to the position of Members of the Executive Council as any other subjects of the Queen. Mr. Anstey's objection to employing unfit persons is needless, as nobody asks any such thing.

MR. BONNERJEE said that though there was no legal barrier against natives sitting in the Executive Council, and though, as was said by the late Lord Glenelg, when introducing the Bill for the better Government of India in 1831, the natives could, if they were capable of the post, sit in the Executive Council of the Governor-General, yet no native of India had yet been appointed. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji seemed to have forgotten that the Government had appointed independent Europeans to the Executive Council of the Governor-General, for the Right Honourable Mr. Massey and Mr. Maine were Members of that Council at the present moment. Under the Mahomedan régime natives of India were found to be well fitted for seats in the Executive Council, and who administered the financial, the legal, and other departments of the public service, much to the credit of themselves and much to the benefit of the public service. It was not fair to preclude the natives of India from holding any post that would fit them for seats in the Executive Council (as had been the case till lately) and then to blame them for incapacity. Although the Members of the Uncovenanted Service performed duties almost similar to those of the Civil Service, and though they were equally trustworthy servants of the public, and though the law did not restrict the selection to the Civil Service, yet the Members of the Local Councils were selected from the Civil Service only. What was wanted was that the monopoly created by the Civil Service should be broken down, and that the seats should be given to those who were best capable of holding those appointments. He

could undertake to say that at present there were natives of India in India just as clever and just as capable of taking office in the Executive Council as any Europeans who had served the country in the Civil Service. At the present moment no native was employed in what might be called the political department of the Government, and therefore the natives had no opportunity of seeing anything of the political constitution of the country. He thought that natives who had been entrusted with judicial duties might be well entrusted with those political duties. The natives wanted responsibility to be put upon them. It was want of responsibility which brought about the mal-administration which formerly existed in India. At the present moment the natives of India exercised a great deal of influence over the minds of their rulers, but that influence was an influence without responsibility baneful to the public service. If the natives of India were to be entrusted with the task of advising, let it be done openly in the light of day and not in the bureau of the Secretary, the Secretary being alone responsible. The charge brought against Europeans by natives was that they did not understand the people, therefore if a native were put into the Executive Council who would know the people well, he would be the target against which the discontent of the natives would be thrown, instead of its being hurled at the head of the Government; so that on that selfish ground merely it would be advisable that the natives should have some voice in the Executive Government. It was absurd to say that only members of the Civil Service were fit to sit in the Executive Council, because a man might be a very good administrator without going through a certain examination. The natives of India had been entrusted with a great many onerous public appointments, in all of which they had discharged their duties faithfully and ably; and he thought they ought, on the broad grounds of policy and justice, as well as on the selfish ground to which he had referred, to have some voice in the government of their country.

Mr. MEHTA said that it being agreed on all hands that there was a necessity for some improvement in the constitution of the Executive Councils of India, representing as they did English feelings, English opinions, and English ideas, and not representing native ideas, the question was, What was the best way of remedying the existing evil? He did not approve of the proposition of Mr. Bonnerjee that natives who had not passed through the Civil Service should be eligible; he thought the door of admission of natives into the Executive Council should be the Civil Service. Though the Uncovenanted Service contained men of as great ability as those in the Civil Service, and who would do honour to any Government or State, yet the Civil Service gave a test of ability, there being no such test in the Uncovenanted Service. He preferred appointments from the Civil Service to the system of patronage.

Dr. K. M. Durr, disagreeing with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Bonnerjee, and Mr. Mehta, thought that the proposal to give natives a share in the Executive Government should be carried out in this way, which he thought was the only practicable way in which it could be carried out. Taking, for instance, Bengal, there should be, besides a certain number of members nominated by Government, at least forty-five native members in the Bengal Legislative Council, each district sending one member, the Calcutta University sending one member, and the City of Calcutta sending two or three members; and then the Governor should nominate a certain number in the Executive Council out of those members, whether they were Covenanted or Uncovenanted servants, or independent members, whose term of office should be as long as they commanded the confidence of the other members.

General BARGES said, from the experience he had had of natives and native institutions (having at one time had the administration of a large province for five years with only a single European assistant, the whole of the business being carried on by natives), he could bear testimony to their capacity. He had always thought that the want of information possessed by our Government in India with respect to native interests had been the cause of the mal-administration from beginning to end, a remedy for which would be found in sending natives to the Legislative Council. He thought there should be a good number of natives sent to the Legislative Councils from the various districts, to whom should be submitted any legislation regarding the natives, and who should give their opinion how far it was desirable and practicable to carry out such legislation. For the last hundred years the Government of India had been acting under the grossest ignorance with respect to the institutions of the country. If natives were sent to the Legislative Councils as proposed, the Government at all

events would not act in ignorance. With respect to the nomination of natives to the Council, of course that must depend upon the Executive Government. There should be no exclusion of natives from offices; but there must be selections.

MR. NEALE PORTER.—I think native gentlemen are too apt to forget what concessions have been made, and too disposed to hurry on the Imperial Government of India in this matter. As I said the other night, the gentlemen who speak here are principally members of that very honourable and very intelligent body the Parsees. I have not a word to say against the Parsees; on the contrary, what I am going to say is a compliment to you, and it is this:—You are a body of leading men who live and are brought up in connection with Europeans—take Bombay, for instance, where you are stimulated by living amongst Europeans, Bombay being the Liverpool of India, where there is a large population of Europeans and an immense commerce, and a great deal to Europeanize you; and I consider it is a mistake on our part to judge, from your excellence, of the great mass of the people of India, whether as regards general information, or other qualities. Again, it certainly does not follow that Ali Akbar was the most unlikely person in the world to have been guilty of corruption, merely because he had shown himself to possess gallant and soldierly qualities, for unfortunately there are cases on record,—one in particular very well known,—where military officers have been supposed to have yielded to similar temptations. With regard to the question generally, I think, with all respect to Major Bell, not putting my opinion as much against his, he is premature. I do not see any objection to ventilating this question, but I should rather leave it to the wisdom of this country to indicate the right time to introduce these changes, and I should be sorry to see, by this Association or any agitation in or out of doors, too much pressure put upon the Government, which I am quite sure means well to the people of India. We must not forget this fact, though it may touch the national susceptibilities of the natives. We are in India as the paramount conquerors of the country, the dominant rulers of it. Look at the short time we have been there, and the vast concessions which we have made. I dare say the day is not far distant when we shall see natives in the Executive Council, but they must come to that through the channel of the Civil Service. There is no legal barrier to their having a share in the Executive Government; if there is any physical barrier, let us do our best to remove it. I ask native gentlemen to believe that the gentlemen of England, the Parliament of England, and the Government of England have honest and noble intentions towards the people of India.

MAJOR BELL.—I will commence the few remarks I have to make, in replying on the interesting debate which has taken place, with the observations of the gentleman who has spoken last. He said that the natives ought to remember that the English are the conquerors of the country. Now I do not admit at all that India is a conquered country. A great part of India was acquired by a series of transactions that did not at all approach to conquest, *viz.*:—by diplomatic transactions and agreements with princes,—the very opposite of conquest. A very small part of India was conquered. The remarks of the gentleman who spoke last seemed to go to this point, that it was not unlikely that natives might be guilty of some of those offences with which they had been charged, because other persons had been known to yield to similar temptations. No one doubts that; I was only adducing the cases to which I referred to show that the natives in those cases had not had a fair trial, and I urged that they had not had a fair trial because there were no persons in that position in the Government to secure them a fair trial. Mr. Chisholm Anstey began with what I must think an irrelevant point, that undoubtedly there was crime among natives, and acts of oppression committed by natives, and he adduced the case of the ruin of Baba Furké by the machinations of Nursoo Punt. Now it happens that on the question of the claims of the natives to a share in the Government the case of Nursoo Punt is one of the strongest cases on my side,—because who was Nursoo Punt? Nursoo Punt was a man placed in a position of vast influence, without responsibility, and with a very inadequate salary. He was placed with the Resident of Baroda, who was almost entirely dependent upon him, and he only received a salary of 200 rupees a-month. Mr. Chisholm Anstey also threw great ridicule upon the idea of natives having any right to employment in the higher offices, particularly in Councils, in proportion to their numerical strength. I never proposed anything of the sort. I did not argue it as a question of abstract right or of numerical proportion: I argued it in the interest of the British Government. I con-

sidered that the British Government required to be enlightened and strengthened by an infusion of the native element into their Councils, without which they must work in the dark, and without which they cannot preserve their administration in an efficient and proper state. Then with regard to the objections made to what were called personal attacks, I will only repeat that I do not regard them as personal attacks, but merely fair criticism. It appeared to me that it would not be right for me to bring bare imputations against the Government without some illustrations in point. I am now of opinion that my remarks would have been quite as forcible if I had called the persons in the cases in question A, B, and C, offering to refer any one who desired it to the documents where the cases might be seen, and I shall probably write a letter to the Secretary, suggesting to the Committee that if they object to publish the cases, they should publish them with the letters A, B, and C, without the names. I cannot help saying that I do not agree with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji with regard to the native Members of Council (if there ever are to be native Members of Council) only being selected from the Civil Service. I think that would be a great mistake. I think the great curse of the Indian Government is, that it is exclusively a government of functionaries; that there are no independent members; that there has been no person in the Government, English or native (with the exception recently of one member in the Executive Council), who has risen from any position giving him the opportunity of being an independent statesman, not fettered by routine and the practice of the Civil Service. How could we exist in this country if our Cabinet were composed of two Commissioners of Excise, two retired County-Court Judges, and a Major-General? The country would soon be in a state of rebellion. What is wanted in India is more independent men, men gathered from other sources than the Civil Service, though it is necessary that there should be some members from that Service, who would bring official and local experience with them. Some gentlemen seem to be of opinion that no natives have at present proved themselves qualified for being placed in the Executive Government. I cannot believe in the possibility of a nation of 150,000,000 or 180,000,000 not being able to furnish some two or three members capable of taking a part in the government of the country.

A vote of thanks to Major Bell for his paper was passed unanimously.

CHAIRMAN.—Whatever opinion we may entertain with regard to the way in which Major Bell brought forward the cases in his paper upon which so much discussion arose, I think we must all be thankful to him for the excellent and painstaking manner in which his paper has been drawn up. It has been done with a singleness of purpose I have not the slightest doubt, and it ought to do a very great deal of good. I have my own opinion on the subject under discussion; and if it had not been very late I should have been glad to say something about it. (*To Major Bell*).—I have much pleasure in conveying to you the thanks of the Association.

It was moved by Mr. Bonnerjee and seconded by Mr. Neale Porter, and carried unanimously, that a vote of thanks be given to the Chairman.

MEETING, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1868.

CAPTAIN BARBER IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. P. M. TAIT read a Paper

On the Population and Mortality of Calcutta.

THE following paper is derived chiefly from the "Report on the Census of Calcutta for the year 1866," dated Calcutta, the 12th of April of last year, and signed by the Vice-Chairman of the Justices of the Peace for the town of Calcutta.

It appears that attempts at taking a census of Calcutta have been made on several occasions, and the following results are on record :—

When taken.	By whom taken.	Number of Inhabitants.
1756	Mr. Holwell	409,056
1800	Police Committee	500,000
1814	Sir E. H. East, Bart.*	700,000
1821	Town Assessors	179,917
1821	The Magistrates	230,552
1831	Captain Steel	187,081
1837	Captain Birch, Superintendent of Police †	229,714
1850	Simms (Survey of Calcutta)	353,567
1866	Justices of the Peace for Calcutta	377,924

A glance at the above table will show that, prior to 1850, the disparities are so great that very little confidence can be placed in the figures, which are therefore wholly valueless for the purposes of comparison.

That conclusion will be strengthened by an inspection of the following table, indicating the population as compared with the number of inhabited houses at different periods, and according to different authorities :—

Year.	Authority.	HOUSES.		Occupants.
		Pucks.‡	Huts.	
1831	Captain Steel	15,303	54,773	187,081
1837	Captain Birch	14,623	50,871	229,714
1850	Mr. Simms	13,078	48,314	361,369

Results which would indicate that, as the population of Calcutta increased, the number of inhabited houses diminished.

The present census is the only one which was ever taken in Calcutta "under the authority of law," and appears to have been carried out with all the care practicable in the circumstances.

The following are the names of the Committee of the Justices of the Peace for the town of Calcutta appointed to take the census :—

H. V. Scholch, B.C.S.§	Dr. Norman Chevers,§
A. M. Dowleams,§	Moulvie Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadoor,¶
Manakjee Rustomjee,||	Ramanauth Tagore.**

Arrangements for taking the Census.

The following special difficulties had to be encountered in taking the census of Calcutta, viz. :—

- The impression amongst the humbler natives that the object of the census was the imposition of some new tax.
- The large number of natives ignorant of reading and writing.
- The variety of languages spoken by the population.
- The reticence of the non-European population as to their women.
- The agency to be employed without the interference of the police.
- The preparation of a form of return best suited to the habits and understanding of the natives.

* It is supposed that the suburbs, or a part of them, have been included in this calculation.

† Vide 'Statistical Journal,' vol. viii., p. 50. This estimate does not include the "floating population" of Calcutta.

‡ "Pucka" means literally sound. Here it is used to distinguish the regularly built flat-roofed houses, chiefly inhabited by the Christian population, from the thatched huts of the great bulk of the native residents.

§ European.

|| Parsee.

¶ Mahomedan.

** Hindoo.

In order to satisfy the native population that the object of the census was wholly unconnected with any scheme of taxation, Moulvie Abdool Luteef and Baboo Ramanauth Tagore, members of the Census Committee, drew up an explanatory paper, which was translated into Bengalee, Hindoo, Oordoo, and Nagree, and copies sent to each of the native justices with the view of enlisting his active co-operation in the enterprise. The Moulvie also took great care to distribute the paper in Nagree amongst the Mahomedan residents of the town, and delivered a very excellent lecture on the census at the Bethune Society, which was also translated into several languages and extensively circulated.

Notice of the intended census was also promulgated by tom-tom all over Calcutta, for the special information of such of the natives as could not read or write.

Considering the strong aversion of the humbler class of natives to native policemen, the census committee decided on carrying out the whole operation without the interference, in any way, of these functionaries. The following numbers of specially paid enumerators were accordingly employed:—

50	understanding Persian and Nagree.
60	English and Bengalee.
110	Bengalee and Hindustani.
<hr/>	
220	in all.

These were selected from the localities of which they were to take an account, and were generally personally known to the residents; and each enumerator, besides giving satisfactory references as to character and identity, was able to speak and write the language of the locality to which he was attached.

Street lists were prepared from the assessment books of the justices, and distributed amongst the enumerators, who were required to make the necessary returns, with a view to a completion of the following particulars made up to the date of the census, viz.:—

1. The number of buildings in each street.
2. The number of dwellings, the inmates of which can read and write.
3. The language in which they can read and write.
4. The number of dwellings, the inhabitants of which can neither read nor write.
5. The language which such people generally speak.

The next point was to devise a form of return of the inmates of each dwelling, which, while combining as many statistics as possible, would be likely from its simplicity to secure the friendly co-operation of the inhabitants. The classification of nationality was felt to be a difficulty, there being a clear line of demarcation in India between Christians of pure European parentage and those of mixed European and Asiatic parentage, and considerable irritation likely to arise among the latter class, should minute information be required on that point.

A schedule embracing the following particulars was adopted, viz.:—

Name of male inhabitants above 10 years of age.	{	Members of family, servants, visitors, and others.
Country and place of birth.		
Age.		
Race or caste.		
Occupation.		
Children under 10 years of age.	{	Male. Female.
Female inhabitants above 10 years of age.		
		Members of family, servants, visitors, and others.

To facilitate the filling up of these returns, an example of a form filled up was attached to each blank return.

The following special instructions were framed for the guidance of the enumerators:—

1. **STREET BOOKS.**—A list or book to be prepared for each street separately, containing the number and description of each building, tenement, hut, &c., contained within the said street. This list will be prepared from the assessment books, of which, in fact, it will be a copy, with the omission of the owner's name and the value of the property.

2. The enumerator will proceed with such a list through the street to which it refers, and call at each tenement to ascertain the following particulars:—
 - (a) Whether any additions have been made to the tenement beyond what is described in the list.
 - (b) Whether inhabited or not.
 - (c) Whether any of the inmates can read and write, and in what language.
 - (d) The number of huts comprised in tenanted land, entered in the assessment book as under one number only.
 - (e) Any new building that may have been erected, and which is not entered in the assessment books with the above details.
3. There will be no occasion to enter all the above particulars in the list, because one single entry will in most cases explain the others. For instance, if a house be uninhabited, it will be quite enough to record the word "empty," as such will show that there is no one living in it, and consequently no one to read and write.
4. Where a tenement is inhabited, and some one of the inmates can read and write, it will be quite sufficient to record only the language in which he can read and write, for instance, B., "Bengalee;" P., "Persian;" O., "Oordoo."
5. Where occupiers of tenements cannot read or write, the enumerator, after ascertaining what language the inmates speak, will record in his list, "cannot read "Bengalee," or "Oordoo," or whatever the language of the people may be.
6. Where a house is uninhabited, but a durwan* or some other servant is in charge, the record in the enumerator's list will be "durwan only," or "two bearers,"† or whatever the case may be; and he will, on the day fixed for taking the census, fill in the particulars of age, &c., as required by the return.
7. If there be any alteration, that is, either addition to or reduction of a building, the record will simply be "second story added," or "upper story pulled down," or whatever the case may be. Form A shows in red ink the different entries as required.
8. PREPARATION OF RETURNS.—Each enumerator will send to the office such of the street lists as have been filled up by him, according to the above rules, on the previous day. The writers at the office will then prepare the blank returns for each of the houses, the inmates of which can read and write and in the language noted. These returns will bear on the outside the number of the premises, and be made up in bundles for each street separately. These bundles will afterwards be returned to the enumerator, who, on repassing through the same street, will leave the blank returns at the premises indicated on the back of the return, with a request that the same may be filled up according to the specimen form attached thereto.
9. The writers at the office will prepare for each street another bundle, containing blank returns for such premises the inmates of which can neither read nor write. Each return will be in the language of the people, and bear outside the number of the tenement, hut, &c., to which it refers.
10. These bundles will be made over to the enumerator, who, on the day appointed for taking the census, will proceed to each of the premises to which the return refers, and fill up the required details.
11. These returns, duly filled up, will be handed over to the writers at the office on the following day, and the enumerators will then proceed to collect the blank returns which have been left with people who can read and write to be filled up.
12. When all the returns have been collected they will be handed to the writers at the office, who will therefrom compile such tables of the whole population of the town as may be required hereafter, and containing all the details given in the returns, but in the aggregate number.
13. To the tables mentioned in paragraph 12 will be added the returns of the floating population of the port, as well as of the residents of Fort William and Coolie Bazaar, for the census of which special arrangements will be made in accordance with the foregoing rules.

* Gatekeeper.

† Male indoor servants, usually Hindoos.

It now became necessary to make arrangements for enumerating the following, viz. :—

Residents in Fort William.
Residents in Coolie Bazaar.
Floating population of the Port.

Vagrant and houseless persons.
Inmates of the Jail and
House of Correction.

And under sanction of the Government, the schedules were issued to the proper authorities. The census was applied, through the Master-Attendant, to ships lying between Hastings Bridge and the Chitpore Canal gate, to the north of the town; but included all vessels, whether moored on the Calcutta or Howrah side of the river. As to the population on board of the native craft, and vagrants, they were enumerated under special arrangements made with the inspectors of police.

The enumerators began to take the census at seven o'clock on the night of the 8th of January, 1866, and completed their task by two o'clock in the morning of the following day. It appears that no less than 140 houses were locked up and deserted on the night of the census; and on visiting them later, it was found by the enumerators that, in 98 cases, the inmates had actually fled to avoid the census, but had returned on the following morning.

The enumerators made a second round to verify all the returns; and by the 18th of February, these were in a sufficiently complete state to enable the facts to be tabulated.

Area and Contents of Calcutta.

By section 2 of Act VI. of 1863, the town includes all places within the local limits of the ordinary original civil jurisdiction of Her Majesty's High Court of Judicature, at Fort William, in Bengal. It is bounded on the north by a line a little to the south of the Chitpore Canal; on the east, by the Circular Road; on the west, partly by the river Hooghly; and on the south, by the Mahratta Ditch and Tolly's Nullah Canal; and occupies an area of 15,115 biggahs,* 8 cottahs, 10 chittacks, and 27 feet, equal to 7·807555843 miles, which, however, includes Fort William, the Maidan, with its enclosures, Coolie Bazaar, and Tolly's Nullah, west of Alipore Bridge.†

The following are the particulars of the area of Calcutta, as obtained from page 30 of the Census Report, but converted into English square miles, viz. :—

LOCALITY.	Square Miles.
Within the limits of Her Majesty's High Court ..	7·808
Within the jurisdiction of the Justices	5·657
Northern Division of the Town	3·517
Southern	2·141
Fort William	0·269
Coolie Bazaar	0·127
Buildings and Compounds	4·658
Places of Public Worship	0·045
Tanks and Public Enclosures	0·284
Public Roads and Lanes	0·772
Burial Grounds	0·017

The following are the particulars of streets and houses, viz. :—

Number of streets and lanes	438
Aggregate length thereof	570,778 feet.
Length in miles	108 miles 32 poles 13 feet.
Average width	38·212 feet.
Number of pukka buildings—	
Northern Division	11,708
Southern Division	4,267
Number of huts—	
Northern Division	31,120
Southern Division	11,797

* A biggah is equal to 20 cottahs, and one cottah, or 16 chittacks, = 720 square feet.

† 'Census Report,' p. 12.

Average space occupied by buildings—

Northern Division 207 yards 6 feet.

Southern Division 324 yards 2 feet.

The houses consist of—

1 of five stories
 26 of four "
 999 of three "
 7,677 of two "
 7,277 of one "
 42,917 huts.

58,897 tenements in all, distributed as follows:—

Tenements.	Southern Division.	Northern Division.
Five Stories .. ..	..	1
Four " " "	4	22
Three " " "	235	764
Two " " "	1,900	5,777
One " " "	2,128	5,144
Huts " " "	11,797	31,120
Totals	16,064	42,828

There were, on the night of the census, lying between Hastings Bridge to the south and the Chitpore Canal gate to the north, which are the boundaries of the jurisdiction of the Municipal Corporation, 112 European sailing-vessels and 20 steamers, tugs, and flats, aggregating 118,256 tons burthen. There were also of native craft, which includes all vessels in command of natives or bearing native flags, 37 in port, aggregating 25,021 tons burthen, and 2,140 dinghees, bhurs, and other descriptions of river-boats.

Population.

The following was the population of Calcutta on the evening of the 8th of January, 1866, viz. :—

Europeans	11,224	Africans	53
Eurasians	11,036	Chinese	409
Greeks	30	Mussulmans	113,059
Armenians	703	Hindocs	239,190
Asiatics	1,441		
Jews	681	Total	377,924
Parsees	98		

Under "Europeans" are included all those born in Europe, or of pure European parentage; also Americans, of whom there are a considerable number in Calcutta. "Eurasians" are persons of mixed European and Asiatic parentage, a large proportion being, no doubt, Indo-Portuguese. Of the "Greeks," those born in Europe we are informed have been included amongst the Europeans. The "Armenians" are, I apprehend, chiefly descendants of colonists from Armenia, in Western Asia. Although very limited in number, they are a highly respectable body, and several eminent merchants belong to this class. The Armenian Church of St. Nazareth, in Calcutta, was erected so far back as 1724. I am at a loss to understand what class is specially included under "Asiatics," seeing that, with the exception of the Europeans, nearly the whole population is Asiatic. Possibly Persians, or Arabs of "low castes," not coming under any particular nationality, are meant. The Jews, although limited in number, appear to possess two synagogues in Calcutta. Attached to one of these places of worship, I observe by the Calcutta Directory for 1867, there is an officer styled "Hebrew, wise and learned, with power to grant divorces." The Parsees are a highly enterprising and respectable class; their head-quarters being Bombay. They are the descendants of the original Ghebers, or Persians of the old religion, who fled to India from their Moslem conquerors. They possess one place of worship in Calcutta, styled "The Temple of the Sacred Fire," and a "Tower of Silence" for the dead. The

"Africans" are, I apprehend, chiefly Arabs, but according to Captain Birch's Census of Calcutta in 1837, there were then 351 Arab residents, while in 1866 the total number of "African" residents is returned at 53! The "Chinese" are almost entirely of humble rank, the great majority of them being shoemakers. As might have been expected, out of a population of 377,924, no less than 352,249, or upwards of 93 per cent., are natives.

The following is the estimated population of the suburbs:—

Chitpore	}	60,000	Bahar-Simla	}	50,000
Cossipore			Scaldah		
Bhowanipore	.. ..	15,000	Entally	.. ..	10,000
Allipore	.. ..	20,000	Ballygunge	.. ..	5,000
Kidderpore	.. ..	15,000	Seebpore	.. ..	50,000
Garden Reach	.. ..	10,000	Howrah	.. ..	10,000
Nunderbagh	.. ..	5,000	Sulkeah	.. ..	250,000
			Total	.. ..

Thus, the grand total of the population of Calcutta and the suburbs, is certainly not under 627,924.

It is to be observed, that a large number of persons, chiefly natives, who have fixed occupations in the town, reside in the suburbs. The Census Committee estimate that at least 20,000 arrive every morning by rail and dinghee alone, from the direction of Howrah; and that other places in the suburbs contribute at least 30,000, making 50,000 in all, which constitutes the daily floating population of the town.

The first thing that strikes the eye on glancing over the Census Report of the male and female population of Calcutta,† is the singular disproportion of the sexes. This is most extraordinary in the Chinese with reference to which class there are no females apparently, either children or adults, against the 378 men and 31 boys enumerated. The explanation given in the Report is that the Chinese are usually, if not always, married to Christian females, and these have been included under "Eurasians."

The following is the proportion of males, to every 100 females, as applicable to each class, or nationality; computed to the nearest unit, viz.:—

Europeans	.. ..	221	Jews	.. ..	106
Eurasians	.. ..	96	Parsees	.. ..	416
Greeks	.. ..	173	Mussulmans	.. ..	201
Armenians	.. ..	117	Hindoos	.. ..	142
Asiatics	.. ..	169			

The general result indicating an average of 157·83 males to 100 females, while in England and Wales in 1861, the proportion of the sexes was nearly equal.

The same anomaly apparently existed in 1837, as the result of the census taken by Captain Birch. Colonel Sykes, in his paper on the subject,‡ declares that the census of Calcutta, taken in 1837, is not at all in accordance with that taken by him in the Deccan, which included three-and-a-half millions of souls, and in which the proportion of females appeared to approximate nearly to what obtains in Europe. Turning for a moment to the return§ of the population of Madras and Bombay, we find the following to be the result as compared with Calcutta, viz.:—

Towns.	Males.	Females.	Proportion of Females per cent.	Children.	Total.
Calcutta: Census taken as above	198,077	115,311	58·21	64,536	377,924
Madras: Administration Report, 1862-3	134,302	165,307	123·09	128,162	427,771
Bombay: Census taken 1st Feb., 1864	436,305	207,285	47·51	172,972	816,562

* These figures have been very courteously furnished to me by the Vice-Chairman of the Justices, who points out, that, as the collectors of the twenty-four Pergunnahs, as well as the Municipal Committee of the suburbs, and of Howrah, have regular assessment books, there ought to be no difficulty in arriving at an approximate estimate of the population of the suburbs.

† Detailed tables can be had from the author. ‡ 'Statist. Journal,' vol. viii., p. 51. § Blue Book.

Thus, at Madras there are 23 per cent. more women than men, but at Calcutta and Bombay about double the number of men than there are women.

Confining the comparison to Mussulmans and Hindoos, which comprise the great bulk of the population of the three Presidency Towns, we have the following results, viz. :—

Towns.	Mussulman Adults.		Proportion of Females per cent.	Hindoo Adults.		Proportion of Females per cent.
	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.	
Calcutta, 1837*	38,994	19,810	50·88	85,145	52,506	61·78
Calcutta, 1866	65,812	28,738	43·67	119,539	78,901	66·00
Madras	18,998	24,014	126·40	103,793	127,643	122·98
Bombay	74,754	38,787	51·89	285,172	131,386	46·07

It is to be observed that of the married Christian male residents in India, excepting perhaps Eurasians, a very considerable proportion are living in a state of temporary single blessedness, their wives being absent on account of ill health, or engaged in superintending the education of the children at home. This applies also to members of other nationalities with whom India is not a permanent place of residence, and will, to a certain extent, account for the disparity of the sexes in these cases. Having this fact in recollection, and making every allowance also for the extreme reserve of Mahomedans and the higher caste of Hindoos, in all inquiries as to the number of the female inmates of their dwellings, it is nevertheless clear that an abnormal disparity exists in the proportion of the sexes, as revealed by the present census, and that the matter calls for further inquiry and investigation.†

Touching the returns for Madras, I am wholly at a loss to explain how the females exceed the males in number, a result so different from what has been arrived at in the other Presidency towns. The census for Madras only recognizes four classes, viz. :—

Europeans and Indo-Europeans,
Native Christians,

Hindoos,
Mussulmans;

but the females are in excess of the males in every instance.

The following Table exhibits the proportion per cent. of children of both sexes under each nationality to the adult population of the nationality to which the children belong, viz. :—

Nationality or Class.	Male Children per cent.	Female Children per cent.
Europeans	9·69	10·17
Eurasians	15·95	17·01
Greeks	8·33	16·67
Armenians	16·64	16·26
Asiatics	10·02	10·27
Jews	23·72	21·79
Parsees	6·82	4·55
Africans	4·17	6·25
Chinese	8·20	—
Mussulmans	10·22	9·35
Hindoos	10·59	9·95

giving a proportion per cent. of 10·61 male children, and 9·97 female children, or a general proportion of 20·58 children to the entire adult population.

* This does not include "Low Castes," separately enumerated in 1837.

† The boys born in England are in the proportion of 104,811 boys to 100,000 girls, but they experience a higher rate of mortality, and the numbers are reduced in the end very nearly to an equilibrium, the men and women living, of all ages, being in the proportion of 100,029 to 100,000. At the census of 1861, there were 10,329,965 females and 9,770,259 males enumerated. Making allowance for those women whose husbands were abroad, and for men in the army, navy, and merchant service abroad, there was still an

I was much startled at the returns of the convicts in the Calcutta jail on the evening of the census, the ratio of European inmates being out of all proportion in excess of that belonging to other nationalities.

The following are the figures as applicable to every 100,000 individuals belonging to each nationality, *viz.* :—

Europeans	1320
Eurasians	130
Asiatics	420
Mussulmans	130
Hindoos	70
Total	2070

Turning to the report of the census of England and Wales for 1861, I found that the ratio to all classes of the population, of persons detained in convict establishments, jails, reformatories, &c., was 1 in 769, and in 1851, 1 in 754; that is, from 130 to 133 persons for every 100,000 of the population.*

The Calcutta Census Report gives no explanation of these extraordinary figures, and I began to conclude that the European sailors, who are in great force in Calcutta during the month of January, and are notoriously a somewhat unruly class, must have inordinately swelled the criminal returns for that month; and that on the other hand the "mild Hindoo," who is practically a vegetarian, abstaining as a rule from intoxicating liquors, and living chiefly on rice and fish, is beyond all comparison the least criminal of the population.

On a reference to Calcutta the mystery was solved, and the disparity thus accounted for. It appears that the return does not include all the prisoners in the Allipore and Howrah jails, which are out of the jurisdiction of the town, and contain almost entirely native culprits; whereas Europeans from almost every part of Bengal are sent to the Presidency jail of Calcutta. The proportion, therefore, I was informed, applied to the total number of Europeans all over Bengal, and not to that of Calcutta alone.

The incident is only another illustration of the extreme necessity for caution in generalizing even from statements, admitting apparently of only one interpretation.

It is to be observed that among the lower classes of natives, hardly one in ten is able to state his actual age, and hence we are warned in the report that implicit reliance cannot be placed on the Tables exhibiting the different ages of the population. In many cases, indeed, the enumerators had to record such an age applicable to the person enumerated, as from inquiries and other evidence appeared to be near the truth. Some of the returns exhibited almost incredible ages, and hence minute inquiries had to be made on this point. The result is given in the following Table, showing the number of persons above 70 years of age :—

	From 71 to 75.	From 76 to 80.	From 81 to 85.	From 86 to 90.	From 91 to 95.	From 96 to 100.	From 101 to 105.	Of the ages of 115 years.	Total.
Europeans	3	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	9
Indo-Europeans	20	14	3	3	..	2	1	..	43
Armenians	4	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	7
Jews .. .. .	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	4
Mussulmans	85	224	31	85	8	5	..	..	388
Hindoos	256	157	55	37	20	3	1	1	530
Total	368	403	92	77	28	10	2	1	981

excess of 361,433 women at home, the men of the corresponding ages being on the Continent, in the Colonies, or in foreign lands. The proportion of males to every 100 females in England and Wales since 1821 was as follows :—

1821	97·932	1861	97·391
1831	97·204	1861	96·585
1841	97·076		

The excess of the emigration of males over females is the principal reason for the difference in the proportion of the sexes. 'Census Report,' 1861, pp. 6 and 88. * 'Census Report,' 1861, p. 11.

It thus appears that the highest ages recorded, applicable to each class, were as follows:—

Europeans	87	Jews	88
Eurasians	104	Mussulmans	100
Armenians	84	Hindoos	116

Resident, therefore, in Calcutta last year, there was one Hindoo old enough to recollect the awful tragedy of the Black Hole, who must have lived through the administration of every Governor-General of India from the time of Clive to that of Sir John Lawrence; who may have seen the author of the 'Letters of Junius' carried bleeding from the field after his duel with Warren Hastings, and heard the cry from 100,000 Hindoos which ascended to Heaven when the Maharajah Nunoomar was hanged on the "maidan!"

An attempt was made to classify the population of the town according to occupations, but this we are informed was found to be impracticable. A return was made, however, of the number of establishments licensed to retail spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs. These are—

Liquor shops	104	Boarding establishments ..	15
Shops for the sale of preparations used in smoking ..	55	Other places	25
Hotels	31		<u>230</u>

Which, taking the fixed and floating population at 430,000, is in the proportion of one licensed shop to each 1870 persons.

The mean density of Calcutta is expressed by 48,405 persons to the square mile, or 75·68 persons to the acre. The mean town density of England and Wales is expressed by 3665 persons to the square mile, or 5·73 persons to an acre.*

Mortality.

Under two local acts of the Bengal Government, Calcutta has been divided into six districts, a registrar being appointed to each, and registration of births and deaths rendered compulsory on all persons residing within the boundaries of the town, under penalty of a fine, not exceeding Rs. 100, on persons who shall refuse or neglect to register within eight days after the occurrence of each birth or death.† It appears, however, from the Health Officer's Report,‡ that the fines levied for non-compliance with the acts are merely nominal, for during 1865 there were eighty-one convictions, while the aggregate fines amounted to Rs. 134·12, or Rs. 1·10·7, that is about 3s. 4d. sterling each.

It is quite evident, indeed, from the figures, that the returns must be defective. Thus we find that for the period under notice, the deaths are returned at 23,233, and the births at 4913, a result which of course would indicate that the total extinction of the population of the town was only a question of time.

The Health Officer has classified the mortality per cent. according to creeds,—under Christians being included, I apprehend, Europeans, Americans, Eurasians, Greeks, Armenians, and native converts. The following is the result:—

Christians	5·19	Mussulmans	5·83
Hindoos	6·41	Parsees	0·88
Jews	1·46	Chinese	3·19

The average calculated on a population of 430,000 being at the rate of 5·408 per cent. per annum. The very limited number of Jews, Chinese, and Parsees under observation renders the above results, as to these classes, valueless for all purposes of comparison.

Confining the inquiry for a moment to Hindoos and Mussulmans, and comparing

* 'Census Report,' 1861, p. 10; but comparing Calcutta with an English town of about the same size, as Manchester for instance, we find, according to McCulloch, that the latter contains 113 persons to the acre.

† 'Calcutta Directory,' 1867.

‡ I have sent for a copy to Calcutta, and if received in time, will, of course, give effect to any corrections of the above, which may be necessary.

the above figures with those in Colonel Sykes' paper, founded on the Calcutta census for 1837, referred to above, we have the following:—

Nationality.	Sykes.	Justices.
Hindoos	5·71	6·41
Mussulmans	3·47	5·83

Colonel Sykes' figures being deduced from the annual average deaths for eleven years prior to the census in 1837, the results of the census at that date being taken as a fixed element in the calculation, without reference to the annual movement in the population.* I am quite unable to explain the apparent excess in mortality for the year 1835 as compared with that which appeared to prevail prior to 1837, and fear that the results in this respect cannot be relied on. It is curious that both authorities agree in assigning a considerably higher death-rate to Hindoos than to Mahomedans. This is in accordance with experience and observation. The Hindoo is practically a vegetarian, while the Mussulman partakes freely of all kinds of animal food excepting pork. The latter has accordingly more stamina to resist the effects of epidemics such as fever, cholera, or small-pox, which carry off the mere rice-eaters in large numbers.

The mortality amongst the European officers of the Civil and Military services of India has been determined with the greatest precision. The names of Samuel Brown, Dr. W. Farr, Charles Jellicoe, also of Mr. Davis, Mr. Neison, and others, will at once occur to many of my hearers in connection with this department of vital statistics. The most recent paper on the subject is that by Mr. Samuel Brown, which is published in the April (1863) number of the 'Assurance Magazine.'

The only paper, so far as I am aware, which treats of mixed European lives resident in India, is one by Mr. C. S. Francis, which embraced the experience of the Oriental and Laudable Insurance companies of Calcutta from 1815 to 1847. The mortality of Eurasians is treated in a paper by the writer, which is published in the Journal of the Statistical Society for September, 1864.

The Health Officer of Calcutta furnished the Census Committee with a Table of Mortality amongst the Europeans resident in Calcutta during 1865,† from which it appears that there were 304 deaths amongst an aggregate population of 11,224—the mortality being thus at the rate of 2·71 per cent. Turning to Dr. Farr's 'English Life Tables,' the average annual rate of mortality in England and Wales during the seventeen years 1838–54, is given at 2·245 per cent.,‡ a result little below that which appears from the above figures to prevail in Calcutta amongst the European population. Very much doubt, however, exists as to whether all the above 11,224 persons could have been under observation for a whole year. For instance, there were 2068 Europeans enumerated as being on board ships on the river on the night of the census. Now the census was taken in January, when it is well known all the East Indianmen which sail to England round the Cape are lying in the river. These generally arrive towards the end of the year, and take their departure again early in the next year. I have no materials by me which will enable me to approximate to the number of European seamen on the river in July as compared with January, but think that the above figures may be reduced at least one-half. It is to be observed that Europeans, especially the better class, seldom remain to die in Calcutta. Medical men generally order patients on a sea voyage or to some more genial climate while there is yet time. These considerations induced me to accept the quotation of 2·71 per cent., as indicating the annual rate of mortality amongst Europeans in Calcutta, with some reserve.

On the other hand that which materially swells the aggregate of European mortality in Calcutta is the death-rate prevailing amongst common soldiers and sailors. The latter come off a long voyage, go ashore into Lall Bazaar and other places of resort, drink arrack and similar vile compounds to excess, stagger out and sleep all night perhaps in the open air, the result being nearly certain death. I have met

* 'Statist. Journal,' vol. viii., p. 52.

† I am not certain as to the period embraced, but will give effect to any correction on receiving the Health Officer's Report.

‡ 'English Life Table.' Introduction, p. xx.

them on riding out at dawn in Calcutta staggering about on the maidan after the night's debauch, and even then declaring themselves "ready to drink anything."

The mortality in the native quarter of the town, as might be expected, exceeds that in the European quarter. Calcutta, in accordance with "Section 94 of Act VI. of 1863, B. C.," is divided into six districts, the western boundary extending to low-water mark of the west side of the river Hooghly, lying between Chitpore Bridge on the north, and the south-west corner of Tolly's Nullah on the south.

A line drawn from near the Custom House to the eastern extremity of the Boitacannah Road separates the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, or northern division of the town, from the 4th and 5th, or southern division. The latter comprehends the European quarter of Calcutta, and is much less densely populated than the native quarter of the town.

The following Table exhibits, in square feet, the gross and nett area of each division, the average space occupied by buildings, and the mean space allowed to each person.*

Districts.	Divisions.	Gross Area.	Net Area.	Average space occupied by Buildings.		Mean space allowed to each Person.	
		sq. miles.	sq. miles.	yds.	ft.	yds.	ft.
First	Northern or Native	1.044	0.869	207	6	14	5
Second		1.359	1.132			11	6
Third		1.080	0.875			10	6
Fourth	Southern or European	0.883	0.696	324	2	19	1
Fifth		1.257	0.979			26	7

The following Table exhibits the mortality during the year in each of the above divisions, as compared with the population.

Divisions.		Population.	Mortality.	
			Gross.	Per cent.
Northern	.. ..	241,790	16,767	6.93
Southern	.. ..	113,084	5,953	5.26

The subjoined extract from the Report† tends further to explain the excess of mortality in the northern division of the city:—"If in this calculation be taken into consideration the daily influx of people coming to transact business, and of the space required for animals kept within, it is evident that such mean space must be still less. Moreover, it is in these divisions that the largest amount of street traffic exists which must necessarily cause a corresponding increase of sweepings, &c., which have daily to be removed by the Conservancy Department. In fact this is, in some measure, corroborated by the Health Officer's Report, according to which the removal of sewage matter from the drains during the past year amounted to 1,386,238 cubic feet, which is more than one-half of the total excavations removed from the whole of the town. Yet singularly enough, it is precisely in these divisions that the average breadth of public thoroughfares is the smallest, so that, in fact, the obstruction caused by the daily traffic is greatest just where ample space is most needed. It is likewise in these divisions that by far the greatest number of jute screws, dye shops, oil presses, and soap manufactories are situated, so that a most dangerous and offensive trade is carried on in localities, several parts of which are hardly accessible to fire engines, and in which up to College Street there is not one single public tank. It is not a less remarkable fact, that although in these divisions the number of private tanks is the largest, the majority of them are little better than stagnant ponds, carrying in them the germs of disease. And finally, the largest number of establish-

* Report, pp. 16, 17; Indian quantities converted into square feet.

† Report, p. 28.

ments licensed to retail spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs, are located in these very divisions, so that all elements calculated to affect the health of the residents are concentrated in the divisions in which the heaviest mortality occurred."

It may be interesting to subjoin the mortality per cent. per annum amongst various classes in India according to different authorities, as compared with the mortality amongst the population of England and Wales, viz. :—

Bengal Civil Service	1790 to 1842	(Neison)	2·18
Bengal Military	1800 to 1847	(Neison*)	2·40
Madras ditto	1808 to 1840	(Davies)	3·28
Ditto ditto	1808 to 1857	(Brown)	3·11
European Soldiers†	1800 to 1856	(Farr)	6·86
Eurasians	1837 to 1851	(Tait)	2·47
Population of Calcutta	1866	(Justices)	2·71
England and Wales	1854 to 1863	(Farr)	2·21

It is to be observed that in any comparison of European mortality in India, an essential element is the period of time embraced in the observations. Thus the death rate during the first quarter, or even half, of the present century, is no just criterion for future guidance. A great change for the better has taken place within the last few years, and Englishmen may now settle in India with much less cause for apprehension than prior to the era of railways and the establishment of the overland route.

The materials from whence to derive the rates of Indian mortality are exceedingly meagre. To Colonel Sykes we are principally indebted for contributions drawn from the domain of Indian Vital Statistics.

The Native Indian Army being recruited from various nationalities, neither the table given in the Blue Book, nor the materials from whence it is derived, afford any clue to the mortality which prevails amongst the different races composing the army. Hence no comparison can be instituted between the mortality given in the Blue Book and that prevailing in Calcutta, amongst the Hindoo and Mahomedan population, as appears from the Census Report.

Health Officer's Reports.

Since the above was written, I have received from Calcutta, the Reports for 1865 and 1866, of Dr. C. Fabre Tonnerre, the Health Officer of Calcutta.

It may be premised that 1865 and 1866 were altogether exceptional years. During the first six months of 1865 an epidemic of small-pox prevailed, and the sudden rise in the price of articles of food and clothing weighed heavily on the poorest classes. In 1866 the famine prevailing in Bengal caused an influx of starving population into Calcutta, estimated at upwards of 20,000 souls. Of the 20,283 who died during that year, 5284 were paupers brought to the ghats for cremation at the public expense, of whom 2103 were found dead in the streets by the police. Thus it appears from the Returns that upwards of one-fifth of the total deaths in 1865 were from small-pox; and upwards of one-third of the total deaths in 1866 were from cholera.

The abstracts of the Health Officer are arranged according to the classification adopted by the Registrar-General of England, and the following Table exhibits the total mortality from all causes, on the assumed fixed and floating population of the town :—

Year.	Estimated Population.	Deaths.	Mortality per cent.
1865	430,000	23,233	5·408
1866	430,000	20,283	4·716

The mortality per cent. amongst the 377,924 persons constituting the total resident population within the ditch,† according to the census, arranged according

* Excluding retired.

† Nun-commissioned officers and men, vide 'Report on the Sanitary State of the Army in India,' p. 158.

‡ That is, within the municipal boundaries of the town.

to creeds, but excluding Jews, Chinese, and Parsees,—the numbers applicable to which classes or nationalities being too small to admit of safe conclusions,—was as follows:—

	Year.	Christians.	Hindocs.	Mahomedans.
	1865	5.19	6.41	5.83
	1866	4.40	5.47	5.41

There being included under Christians, I apprehend, Europeans, Americans, Eurasians, Greeks, Armenians, and Native Converts.

And the proportion per cent. which the mortality, from different causes—according to the classification adopted in this country—bears to the total casualties, was as follows:—

Year.	CLASSES.					Causes not Specified.
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	
	Zymotic Diseases.	Constitutional Diseases.	Local Diseases.	Developmental Diseases.	Violent Deaths.	
1865	81.496	3.017	8.402	3.934	1.033	1.692
1866	81.294	2.352	9.007	5.551	1.000	0.750

Under "Zymotic Diseases" are included Dysentery, Cholera, Fever, and Small-pox.

Under "Constitutional Diseases" are included Dropsy, Cancer, and Gangrene, which three caused the most deaths under that class.

Under "Local Diseases" we find Convulsions, Trismus, Spleen diseases, Tetanus, causing the greatest mortality.

And under "Developmental Diseases," the largest figures are opposite Cyanosis, Still-born, and "Not Specified."

But the most remarkable fact revealed by the Health Officer's Reports is, that during the two years under observation, upwards of 80 per cent., or four-fifths of the total deaths in Calcutta were caused by diseases of the zymotic class, and these belong almost entirely to the miasmatic order. The following Table exhibits the ratio per cent. which the deaths from the six principal diseases of the miasmatic order bear to the total casualties during the years under review:—

Name of Disease.	Year.	
	1865.	1866.
Diarrhoea	4.231	6.172
Dysentery	10.378	12.611
Cholera	21.816	33.654
Small-pox	21.992	0.406
Fever	17.672	19.984
Remittent Fever	5.272	5.993

It is curious to observe from the above Table that small-pox, which caused about 22 per cent. of the total casualties in 1865, did not cause one-half per cent. of the total casualties in 1866. We gather from the reports, that the deaths from this cause were chiefly in the second and third, or northern divisions of the town, inhabited

mostly by natives, the minimum mortality being in the sixth division, inhabited almost wholly by Europeans; also that the scourge was most virulent in March, April, and May. As to cholera during 1866, the maximum mortality was also in the native part of the town, the minimum being in the European quarter, and the most fatal months were March and April.

The following Table exhibits the ratio of deaths to the total population amongst the three classes above distinguished :—

Disease.	Christians.	Hindoo.	Mahomedans.
Diarrhoea	0·013	0·170	0·106
Dysentery	0·022	0·433	0·136
Cholera	0·069	1·075	0·440
Small-pox	0·001	0·009	0·014
Fever	0·029	0·568	0·345
Remittent Fever	0·005	0·204	0·073

The Table is read thus :—Of the total population, there died of cholera in 1866—

Christians	0·069 per cent.
Hindoo	1·075 „
Mahomedans	0·440 „

The following Table exhibits the ratio of deaths according to religion or caste :—

Disease.	Christians.	Hindoo.	Mahomedans.
Diarrhoea	0·221	0·308	0·405
Dysentery	0·389	0·784	0·519
Cholera	1·261	1·929	1·680
Small-pox	0·004	0·012	0·045
Fever	0·519	1·018	1·313
Remittent Fever	0·033	0·369	0·280

That is to say, that the casualties from cholera during the year amounted to—

Christians	1·261 per cent. of their number.
Hindoo	1·929 „ „
Mahomedans	1·680 „ „

And the following Table exhibits the ratio of deaths to the total casualties :—

Diseases.	Christians.	Hindoo.	Mahomedans.
Diarrhoea	0·267	3·643	2·257
Dysentery	0·470	9·235	2·896
Cholera	1·516	22·754	9·369
Small-pox	0·005	0·145	0·256
Fever	0·627	12·007	7·321
Remittent Fever	0·064	4·348	1·556

It thus appears that during the year under review upwards of one-third of the total casualties were from cholera in the following proportion, viz. :—

Christians	1·516 per cent.
Hindoo	22·754 „
Mahomedans	9·369 „

The following is a summary of the three preceding Tables, and exhibits at one glance the ratio of deaths from the above-mentioned six principal diseases of the miasmatic order during 1866 :—

Ratio of Deaths.	Christians.	Hindoo.	Mahomedans.
(1.) To the total population	0·139	2·459	1·114
(2.) According to religion or caste ..	2·447	4·420	4·242
(3.) To total casualties	2·949	52·132	28·655

Thus the deaths amongst Christians were about 24½ for every 1000 of their number, amongst Hindoos 44½ for every 1000 of their number, and Mahomedans 42½ for every 1000 of their number.

These figures speak for themselves and are most extraordinary. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the excessive mortality of Calcutta is due in no small degree to causes which are preventible. To defective drainage, impure water, absence of ventilation, and the unclean habits of the native community. The Health Officer complains over and over again in his reports of the extraordinary difficulties encountered in enforcing sanitary regulations, more especially amongst the lower class of natives. The nuisances, he says, are the result of habits transmitted from generation to generation, and favoured by caste prejudices. As to the Inspector of Nuisances, the name of that officer does not appear from the reports, but his post must be no sinecure. I should not like to be inspector of nuisances for the town of Calcutta. It appears that in 1865 he was compelled to institute 1254 suits against mehters, and no less than 4070 prosecutions against other persons, for offences against the sanitary regulations. Nor are strikes unknown even in Bengal. During 1866, the mehters of Calcutta struck work, and for many days none of these functionaries were visible in the European quarter of the town.

In the returns before us neither the age at death, nor the trade or occupation of the deceased is given; but the sexes are distinguished. Having in recollection the abnormal disparity of the sexes revealed by the census of 1866, and the consequent doubt which is thrown over that portion of the returns, I have not deemed it necessary to go closely into this particular point. The following Table distinguishes the mortality of the sexes from the above six principal diseases of the miasmatic order. The figures have reference to the ratio of deaths according to religion or caste.

Disease.	Christians.		Hindoo.		Mahomedans.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Diarrhoea	0·187	0·270	0·245	0·399	0·358	0·501
Dysentery	0·395	0·380	0·726	0·864	0·461	0·636
Cholera	1·759	0·540	2·282	1·426	1·835	1·364
Small-pox .. ..	..	0·010	0·011	0·014	0·049	0·089
Fever	0·485	0·570	1·030	1·002	1·163	1·615
Remittent Fever ..	0·062	0·040	0·419	0·297	0·275	0·287
Totals	2·888	1·810	4·718	4·002	4·141	4·442

The general result indicates a lower rate of mortality amongst Christian and Hindoo females than males, but a somewhat higher rate amongst Mahomedan females as compared with males. Then, in the case of cholera, the deaths amongst Christian females are less than one-third of the deaths of the males from that cause; the mortality amongst Hindoo and Mahomedan females, from cholera, being also considerably lower in proportion than amongst the males. On the other hand, diarrhoea and dysentery appear in a very marked degree more fatal to females than males, and fever also, though in a somewhat lesser degree.

Meteorology.

The highest day temperature was on the 27th May, at 3 p.m., when the thermometer stood at 105·8 exposed in shade. March was the most unhealthy month in the year; the mortality, which on account of the change of the monsoon is usually great, rose during that month to its maximum, the Hindoo population being the principal sufferers. The lowest point touched by the thermometer was on the 30th December, when it fell to 54°. There was no rain in March, November, and December; while in September, 16 inches fell, nearly 4 inches having fallen in one day.

Conclusion.

Although the returns now under review are by far the most complete which have ever been received from Calcutta on this subject, there is still much room for improvement. We want more particularly—

A classification of the population according to age, sex, and condition;

A more careful registration of the births;

A return of the marriages;

A return of deaths, exhibiting, in addition to the particulars now furnished, the age and condition of the deceased;

Returns indicating the extent to which the population is affected by emigration.

The reports should be, as nearly as possible, in the form adopted by the Registrar-General of this country. Meanwhile, it is necessary to exercise a certain reserve in generalizing from the figures which form the basis of this paper.

But of one great fact there is abundant evidence—that, while the mortality of London, for instance, is about 2·5th per cent., the mortality of Calcutta is 5 per cent., or considerably more than double; and that in the latter case it might be reduced in all probability one-half or one-third by improvements in the sanitary condition of the city, and even moderate attention to the fundamental laws of hygiene.

It is most gratifying to be able to announce that a number of sanitary reforms have recently been completely effected, or are now in process of consummation. For instance, the custom of throwing dead bodies into the river is entirely stopped. Bodies of paupers are now burnt at the public expense, the Hindoo community having subscribed largely to render the burning-ghāts innocuous. Then, most vigorous and comprehensive measures are now in progress for improving the ventilation, flooring, and drainage of the native bazaars, and a careful supervision is being exercised on the sale of articles of food and drink. The grog-shops are regularly visited, and licences forfeited where it is found that deleterious compounds are being sold to European sailors visiting the port. In the drainage department of the municipality extraordinary activity was displayed during the years under review; about half-a-million sterling has been raised, chiefly for drainage-works, and ere long Calcutta ought to be able to boast a most complete and effective system of drainage. It is proposed to convey the sewage by a railway, constructed at a cost of 55,000*l.*, to the Salt Water Lake—a lagoon situate a few miles south-east of Calcutta—there to be utilized for agricultural purposes. Then as to water—a contract has been concluded with Messrs. Brassey, of London, to raise 6,000,000 gallons of water daily at Phulta, a point on the Hooghly about sixteen miles above Calcutta, there to be filtered and afterwards conveyed by covered aqueducts to Calcutta, and distributed over the town. The works, which are to cost upwards of half-a-million sterling, are now being actively pushed forward, and it is believed will be completed by 1870.

We shall look forward with much interest and curiosity to future reports of the Health Officer of Calcutta. That great metropolis—the entrepôt for the produce of Bengal, one of the richest provinces in the world—must, I imagine, remain the capital of British India and chief commercial emporium of Asia. To the Englishman who looks to India as a field where disappointment may find retreat, or enterprise have room to expand, it must be interesting to know that in a few years there is reason to hope he will be able, with due precaution, to prosecute his vocation in Calcutta without much greater risk to life than is experienced in this country.

It is impossible to conclude this paper—which, indeed, pretends to little more than an analysis and rearrangement of the information contained in the reports—without bearing testimony to the energy and ability exhibited by the Committee of Justices, in making all the necessary arrangements for the census, in completing the operation, and finally, in elaborating the materials so as to present them in an

intelligible form to the public. That report has, I believe, been severely criticized by the Calcutta press; but those only who have lived in India, and made a similar effort, can realize the extraordinary difficulties to be encountered, in any operation of the kind, in that dependency.

As an instance of the ignorance and prejudice which prevails, it may be mentioned that notwithstanding one of the Census Committee, a Mahomedan gentleman of rank, prepared a pamphlet on the subject of the census—which, after being translated by him into several languages, he actually caused to be printed and circulated amongst the natives at his own expense, with a view to general enlightenment on the objects and utility of the census—no less than 198 native families deserted their homes and fled into the jungle on the night of the census, rather than remain to be enumerated, the impression being, that either some wholesale raid on the female population of their locality was contemplated, or that the Government were collecting materials for an assessment of taxes on a more comprehensive scale. Great credit, nevertheless, is due to the Moulvie for his exertions in diffusing information on the subject. Having in recollection the proverbial indolence and apathy of the wealthier natives of India, and the traditional antipathies existing between the worshippers of Islam and us Christians of the West, it appears to me a very curious sign of the times, that a Mahomedan gentleman of India should so fully appreciate the scientific importance and value of a census of Calcutta as to render aid, at once most useful and disinterested, in completing that operation.

Who would dare to place limits to the prosperity of our Indian empire if Christians, Mahomedans, and Hindoos, ignoring all differences of creeds and religions, and adopting one common platform in the interest of progress, would apply themselves loyally to the improvement of the social condition of the teeming millions of India, and the development of her natural resources?

For some mighty and beneficent purpose Providence has placed the destinies of two hundred millions of human beings, inhabiting that remote district of Asia, in the hands of a few Anglo-Saxon Christians. Be it our ambition to discharge that high trust in a manner worthy of a Christian people, and on all occasions to welcome and encourage in every department of the state, such useful and disinterested co-operation, whether of Hindoo or Islamite, as was rendered in taking the census of Calcutta in 1866, by the Mahomedan Moulvie Abdool Luteef Khan.

Baron DOWLEANS mentioned in illustration of the difficulty that was found in taking the census, that one of his own servants who had been twenty-six years in his service maintained that he was only thirty years old because his father had told him twenty years ago that he was thirty years old. Among the twenty or thirty thousand Mussulmans chiefly employed as boatmen, not one man in a hundred knew his age. In such cases the age had to be arrived at by the appearance of the man, and by making other inquiries. Three-fourths of the ages might be taken as correct, the remainder being guess-work. Another difficulty consisted in the fact, that not only had the forms to be translated into five different languages, but the mass of the population could not write, so that the information was given at second-hand through the enumerators. Taking the census altogether, it could not be taken as being perfectly correct; but it might be taken to be within 10 per cent. of the truth. With respect to the agency by which the census was taken, it was deemed to be so advisable that the police should have nothing to do with it, that when the census was being taken, the 3600 policemen were sent away from the town. The enumerators were clerks in public offices, who were warned that if it could be shown that they had been negligent in any case, they would be dismissed from Government service. If the Government would sanction such an expenditure as would enable a properly-appointed committee, with the assistance of the health officers and others, to take a census of Calcutta and its suburbs, a proper census might then be taken, the existing one being but an approximation to the correct state of the case.

Dr. FARR said that he was glad that Mr. Tait had introduced this subject, because it was requisite before the Association attempted to deal with any proposals for the improvement of the welfare of the people of India, to ascertain by means of accurate information collected by enumerators, what the facts really were. He was glad to know that in the North-west Provinces a census had been taken, which he had submitted to the International Congress at Florence on the part of our Government, and many of the facts ascertained by Mr. Plowden were there admitted to be of great

interest. To statisticians in Europe the present state of things in India was a matter of great interest. If the same methods of inquiry were adopted in India as have been adopted in Europe, they would lead to most excellent results. No doubt it was quite right to begin with Calcutta; but looking at the census of the North-west provinces which Mr. Plowden had produced, there was no reason why there should not be a census for the whole of Bengal. He thought the Government of India might well expend the money that would be necessary for procuring such interesting and valuable information. When the census was taken in England in 1861, it was suggested to the Government by the Registrar-General that a simultaneous census of all the British colonies and dependencies should be taken, and he believed that an order to that effect was sent to India, but it arrived at a time when India was convulsed, and it was not thought desirable at that time to undertake such an inquiry; but he trusted that the Government, seeing the importance of such statistics, would be induced to do for India what it had done for Australia, Canada, and other colonies, as well as for the United Kingdom, *viz.* cause a good census to be taken. Such statistics, when collected, would not only tend to advance the welfare of the people of India by giving facts upon which to proceed in carrying out improvements, but would correct a great many mistakes existing in this country on Indian matters. As an instance, he was engaged with Lord Stanley and others in an inquiry into the mortality of our troops in India, in which many facts were proved connected with the health of natives and Europeans in India. He went into that inquiry under the apprehension that the climate of India was a terrible climate, productive of diseases tending to shorten life; but he came out of that inquiry with a totally different opinion. Taking Calcutta as an example, where the mortality was 54 in 1000, while the mortality of London was 23 in 1000, the mortality being due principally to diarrhoea, dysentery, and cholera, it was not right to infer that the mortality from such diseases was peculiar to India, for in times gone by similar diseases produced the same mortality in London, and the causes of the great mortality admitted of removal in India as certainly as they admitted of removal in London. He was glad to hear that Calcutta was introducing a better water-supply—a good water-supply being absolutely necessary to health. The cholera in India he had no doubt was very much produced by impurities in the water which the people drank. He was also glad to find that something was being done in the way of drainage.

Mr. BRIGGS, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Tait for his paper, remarked, that though no doubt it would be an advantage to India to have a proper census taken, as it would to carry out many improvements which had been suggested from time to time, the question which was not solved was, Where was the money to come from?

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI said, that as a native he was very glad to find that Mr. Tait had brought this subject before this Association, because the evils from which humanity suffered could only be grappled with by first collecting information of the character alluded to in the paper. He had had some experience of the difficulties that had to be encountered in taking a census, for when the census at Bombay was taken, he and others went from one place to the other giving a sort of lecture upon the advantage of a census and explaining the forms, for it was found that the people could not understand what the forms meant. For the benefit of that small proportion of the population who could read, large placards were prepared and stuck up in all parts of the town, explaining the advantages of a census. Though it seemed strange that 198 people should have left Calcutta to avoid coming into the census, those people, no doubt, had not been seen by the Moulvie, or reached by the Moulvie's lecture, so as to have the purpose of the census explained to them. He cordially seconded Mr. Briggs's motion, that a vote of thanks be given to Mr. Tait for his paper.

The CHAIRMAN, in putting the vote of thanks to Mr. Tait, said he could bear his testimony to what had been said about the effect upon health of bad water, for in marching on several occasions he had seen the difference in the health of men when they could get good water as compared to what it was when they could not. He was sorry that there was so small an attendance, which he attributed partly to the statistical nature of the paper, which possibly had frightened many from attending; but as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had said, the paper would be published in the Journal, and he considered that the circulation of the Journal was of even more importance than a large attendance at meetings, because the information communicated by

gentlemen who were kind enough to read papers would be, by means of the Journal, circulated among Members of Parliament and others who had not time to attend the meetings.

Mr. TATT, in returning thanks, remarked, that the labour of conducting these statistical inquiries in India was exceedingly great, and the utmost care was required in dealing with the figures obtained. For instance, by the returns, it appeared that on the night of the 8th of January there were in the Calcutta gaols to every 100,000 individuals 1320 Europeans and 70 Hindoos, but upon inquiry it turned out that all Europeans being sent to prison in Calcutta, the proportion of Europeans applied to the total number of Europeans all over Bengal, and not in Calcutta alone. He believed these statistics, which were prepared at vast labour, to be the foundation of all legislation and effort to improve the condition of the human race, and he would be glad (if the Association wished it) to be the means of placing before them, from time to time as opportunity offered, any figures which might throw light upon the condition of the people of India.

MEETING, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1868.

COLONEL FRENCH IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. T. BRIGGS read the following Paper :—

Proposal of an Indian Policy under the New Reform Parliament.

THE development of the agricultural resources of India is a subject of vital importance, and the way how to do it opens up so wide a field for controversy, that it is with the utmost diffidence that I am here to-night to bring the question before you.

In considering this subject, I propose to bring to your notice :—

1st. The waste land rules, as passed by Lord Canning in India during the short tenure of office of Lord Stanley, when he was Indian Secretary under Lord Derby, about 1858-9.

2nd. The veto of those rules on arrival here by Sir Charles Wood.

3rd. What would have been the probable result had these rules been allowed to pass with the hearty concurrence of the Government then in power.

1st. Waste Land :—After the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the East India Company was extinguished as a governing body, and the government of India was vested in the Crown of England, not long after Lord Stanley was appointed Indian Secretary.

He dispatched a code of rules to Lord Canning, who was then Governor-General of India, for the guidance of the Indian Council in its dealings with the Government Waste Lands. Quoting from memory, the following was the substance of these rules :—

That all waste land throughout India shall be surveyed and marked out into blocks of suitable farms, not exceeding 3000 acres each, subdivided into blocks of 40 acres each, and that each lot shall be offered to the public, the uncleared at 5s. per acre, and the cleared at 10s. per acre, in fee simple.

The policy laid down in this dispatch was felt to be so new, and of such vast consequences, that the Governor-General postponed its consideration until his return from his usual tour through the country, when he hoped to have gathered sufficient data to enable him to judge from personal observation of its probable effects.

On his return to Calcutta he explained to the Council that from personal observation he could recommend the measure as a sound one, whereupon it was passed and sent to England for confirmation. On its arrival in England, however, there had been a change of Government, and a new Indian Secretary; Sir Charles Wood was now in power, who, from motives best known to himself, put a veto upon it, and in its place introduced a measure to the following effect, namely, that no survey should take place until an intending purchaser made a selection, defining the boundaries by certain land-marks, and depositing a sum of money in the Treasury to cover the cost of survey, after which the plot in question should be surveyed, during which process the said plot should be advertised for sale by public auction.

Now, it is needless to say that this measure was practically a prohibition of the sale and development of the waste land of India, for who would be inclined to trust themselves to the safe keeping of the cobra and tiger during their sojourn in the jungle for the purpose of the selection of a plot of ground in order to embark their capital and enterprise, when after such pains and expense another person, who had not troubled himself about the matter further than to watch the day of sale advertised in the papers, might come in and overbid them?

It is enough to place these two proposals side by side in order to see which of the two would be the most likely to promote the material development of Indian agriculture, and the material prosperity of our Indian Empire.

2nd. But in the second place let us glance at the state of affairs which might have induced Sir Charles Wood to approve and urge forward the adoption of these rules as a measure of relief as well as sound policy.

We all know about the periodical famines in India, how each sweeps from the land by starvation from three-quarters to a million-and-a-half of our thrifty fellow-subjects.

We are also very forcibly made aware of several other facts much nearer home. The want of employment in our dockyards, the unprecedented increase of pauperism and crime, the dearth of the prime necessities of life, and the consequent distress of those who possess a moderate fixed income. The empty factories, with their machinery rusting away, to be counted by scores, and the dilapidated empty cottages counted by thousands in our manufacturing districts, which before the cotton famine used to absorb and find honest and profitable employment for our surplus agricultural population.

Another matter claiming attention is the present defective land system in India under which the Government let their lands of many miles area to one or more Zemindars for a given sum, which is the largest they can squeeze out of them. They in their turn sub-let into smaller portions, which is again and again divided to other parties, until it reaches, after five or six removes, the ryot, who is the only cultivator of the soil. The object of each party, from the Government to the ryot, is to get as much out of each bargain as they can for the time being. There is hence no improvement in the soil, nor any in the method of cultivating it.

Again, another fact which shows the tendency of the present system, an eye-witness, who has just returned from a tour through India, states that he has seen field after field with the cotton crop rotting on the ground for want of picking and housing. He was told that the ryot dare not touch it until the collector had been to fix the amount to be paid over to the Government before he could dispose of the produce.

Again, the money-lenders, in consequence of not owning the land, the ryot cannot offer better security than the crop he is about to raise, the natural result is that he is charged from 30 to 50 per cent. interest.

3rd. What might have been the probable result had these rules been allowed to pass with the hearty concurrence of the Government then in power. This is illustrated in a remarkable degree by what has been done by two Englishmen, to whom the lands of Keer Singh were granted after the mutiny. The same authority quoted above says the estate, with the exception of a small portion near Jugdispore, was one vast jungle of forty square miles, and to ordinary men the gift would have proved of little value. First of all they built on a piece of rising ground near the station of Buhra a splendid house, which is described as "a castellated mansion on the left, as we approach Buhra." They next set about clearing the land, and this has been so rapidly done that now there is not more than one-sixth remaining in jungle. Roads are constructed through it at right angles of a mile, forming squares which are subdivided by smaller roads at the half-miles, footpaths at the quarter-miles, and stone marks on marches at the eighths, sixteenths, and thirty seconds. A large quantity of drainage has been completed, and irrigation works are now being pushed on rapidly. At Jugdispore, which is eight miles from the house, there is an indigo factory at full work. We were surprised at the number of people moving about on the roads; this feeling, however, ceased when we were informed that there are now fifty villages on the estate with a population of not less than 10,000 souls. Their chief difficulty just now is to survey and let off the land to meet the applications for it. The farms vary in size from one to fifty acres, and leases are granted for three, five, and seven years at rents equal to about an eighth of the produce of the second year's cultivation. The consequence of this is that all the villagers are thriving and industrious.

Let us now review by way of illustration a few extracts in order to show how

Lord Stanley's liberal land-policy has benefited those parts where it has had a fair trial. An Indian correspondent writes (see, 'Times' of 12th June, 1863):—"You would not fail to observe that the Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer in his statement of policy, emphatically dwelt on the substitution of private capital and enterprise for wasteful Government agency in the construction of public works." . . . "A gentleman who has just returned from a visit to Cachar says, the whole valley is now owned by English settlers under Lord Canning's Waste Land Rules. Savage Kookes who used to cut each other's throats, and those of our subjects, are now thriving labourers in neat cottages. A valley destitute of population and worthless to the state before the mutiny, now yields a good revenue besides the purchase-money of the land, and is as smiling as an English county."

Now this district is the one where, during the transmission of Lord Canning's rules to this country for ratification, the policy was in operation and somewhere about 100,000 acres were actually purchased and occupied under it, before news came from England of the veto.

Again, to show what the country is capable of, provided irrigation and means of transit were developed to their proper extent. A writer in 'The Times,' W. B., in 1864, speaking from personal observation on the spot, says:—

"I know of no reason why (except the want of irrigation) that country should not produce cotton as good as the Egyptian. Scinde, which is as much like Egypt as one florin is like another, has by means of Well irrigation and European skill produced cotton equal in quality, according to the report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, to anything produced in Egypt; and there is enough waste land, waste labour, and waste water in the countries drained by the Indus to produce several millions of bales. As to the quantity of waste land, the following figures are from official sources:—

	Total area in acres.	Cultivated.
Punjaub	47,062,400	14,470,185
Scinde	40,703,360	1,672,229

"Of the population of these countries the following are the last official returns:—

Punjaub and Native States connected with it, the former by	
Census of 1855-1856	14,766,825
Native States	7,154,538
Scinde	2,500,000
	<hr/> 24,421,363

"Of the great amount of waste labour in this population, some idea may be formed from the fact that the total exports from the Indus for the year ending April, 1863, amounted to 3,287,594*l.* only, or something less than 3*s.* per head of population, one-half of which was entirely due to the high price of cotton.

"The quantity of water running to waste is 51,500 cubic feet per second when the river is at the lowest, which quantity if it were never greater would be equal to the irrigation of 9,270,000 acres throughout the year.

"As to the cost of irrigated cotton, I stated in a former letter that Scinde might be irrigated by means of high-level canals, at a capital cost of 3*l.* 10*s.* per acre. This is the estimate formed from ample data by one of our first hydraulic engineers.

"A charge of 25*s.* per acre for the water would give the canal owners 37½ per cent. net. At this charge for water the cost of good cotton would be as under:—

	£	s.	d.
Land tax per acre	0	3	7
Water rate	1	5	0
Labour and seed	1	5	0
Total	£2	13	7

"Produce 400 lbs., or a fraction over 1½*d.* per lb.

"W. B."

Here we have on the banks of a river, equal to the Mississippi in America, 87,000,000 of acres of productive soil, out of which only 16,000,000 of acres are under cultivation,

all the rest being in a state of nature, although there are 24,000,000 of people ready and willing to till the soil.

Now let us see what the State loses by keeping the lands in this unproductive condition. Taking round numbers:—

	Acres.
There are in the two districts upwards of	87,000,000
Deduct acres already in the people's hands	16,000,000
<hr/>	
This leaves in a state of nature	71,000,000
To avoid exaggeration deduct for mountain, rock, sheep and cattle-runs, forests, rivers, public works, towns, villages, religious and educational establishments, and generally say	17,000,000
<hr/>	
This leaves	54,000,000

of cultivatable land to be dealt with as so much property vested in the hands of the Government in trust for the benefit of the Commonwealth; and which might be put by wise and liberal measures into the hands of thrifty agriculturalists in portions averaging 160 acres to each family of five persons.*

Fifty-four millions divided by 160 gives 337,500 farms of 160 acres, each occupied by five persons; this gives a population of 1,687,500. It is a moderate estimate to take five acres as the area to be brought under cultivation in each farm every year, divided thus:—Two acres for bread-stuffs (this comprises all articles of food for both man and beast except animal food), and three acres for cotton or any other fibre that may pay best for the time being. Assuming it to be three acres of cotton irrigated, giving an aggregate of 1,012,500 acres, equal to about a million bales of cotton, that would be added annually to the quantity at present under cultivation, and this would be worth at least 6d. per lb., or 10l. per bale of 400 lbs. This would give an increase in the total value of cotton for exportation of 10,000,000l. per annum. Being irrigated cotton, it is of good quality; and though American cotton, even before the war, was never worth less than this price in Liverpool, there would still be a large margin for profit, after considerable reduction, as the cost, on the spot, is only 1½d. per lb. (or a fraction over). Thus one article of produce would add to the State no less than ten millions of wealth per annum, saying nothing of the jute, hemp, flax, sugars, coffee, rice, linseed, tobacco, wine, indigo, fruits, and all other products whose natural element is a tropical sun, all of which would be acceptable to Europeans, who would, under a system of free-trade, be glad to exchange their native products. This would give about 30l. profit over and above the means of living, as the two acres devoted to bread-stuffs would be ample to keep the family and provide seed for the following year.

Thirty pounds each family of five would give 6l. per head for one year's operations, and that the first year. India contains 200,000,000 of British subjects, which multiplied by six, is 1,200,000,000l. Now, in consideration of the repeal of all other taxes and the gift of these 160 acres, it would surely not be too much to expect these people to pay by way of taxes 5 per cent. income-tax out of this wealth, the greater part of which would be raised from what before was nothing at all; that would be a revenue of 60,000,000l., which is about 15,000,000l. more than the present revenue.†

It might be objected that the 200,000,000 cannot all be agriculturalists. Granted; but it is fair to assume that the average income from other pursuits would be equal to that of the agricultural labourer.

The collateral issues that would arise are numerous and powerful for good. For instance, if this policy were adopted with respect to the valley of the Indus, it would without doubt attract the enterprising agricultural and trading portion of the hill-

* I would here remark that the Homestead Law of the United States of America gives all settlers 160 acres free from any payment, on condition of settling a certain distance from town or village, and clearing and cultivating 10 per cent. of it in five years; hence I take 160 acres as the basis of division into farms. Another remarkable fact with regard to Canada: since they have become a Federation, their statesmen have gathered moral courage enough to copy the Homestead Law of the United States, and have passed an act granting 160 acres on similar terms, except that 15 per cent. must be cleared in five years before they can claim their title-deeds.

† These figures are put in to illustrate the virtue of an income and property over land and all other indirect taxes.

tribes of Afghanistan to till the soil in our valleys, as the same policy attracts Britons for the same end to the United States.* It would thereby strengthen the position of the Government on the North-western frontier; having secured the affections and alliance of these hardy and enterprising dwellers in the hills, we could safely defy the hostile and aggressive approaches of any enemy from that quarter. "It is painful to observe the utter indifference of the British public towards Indian matters;" but "I hope the day is not distant when the Parliament, press, and people of this country will do their duty towards India."

Why should not 200,000,000 of our fellow-subjects, who form an integral part of the British empire, have their interests fairly represented in the Imperial Parliament?

This question is one of free-trade, that is, free-trade in the lands of India, especially the waste lands; and as such is of far vaster importance than the question of free-trade in corn; and if it ever succeeds in bringing the press, people, and Parliament to take an interest in it, it will be by the same means that were adopted then by the Free Trade League, *vis.*—by meetings, agitating, and lecturing throughout the country, and pointing out plainly how it touches the pockets of all classes of society.

The Society, to promote this agitation, must exist but for one object, let it regard that, as at present paramount to all others, and let its motto be "Free-trade knows no political party." Now I believe our Association comes as near to this principle as any, judging from the rules and the inaugural address of our noble Chairman.

In conclusion, let us suppose that Lord Canning's Rules had been passed, and that the people had continued to act upon them in the same spirit as they began. What might at this moment have been the state of affairs, both in India and at home, upon a fair, moderate, and reasonable consideration of all the circumstances? We should, at any rate, have had vast tracts of country under profitable cultivation which are now lying waste; we should have had all the working classes among our Indian fellow-subjects profitably employed; we should have had plenty of inducements giving a mighty impetus to the operations of capitalists in making canals and railways, which would give large dividends through the immense traffic which would thus have been created. We may even go farther, and say that under judicious management the cultivation of these lands would have taken the special form of cotton-growing, and that India might have filled up the vacuum in the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests left by the destruction of the Southern States of America.

But if these be some of the immediate advantages which India would have derived from the adoption of such a policy, the benefits to England are not less noteworthy. Besides the consciousness that we had fairly done our duty by India, we should have had the unspeakable satisfaction of knowing that we had raised up in our own borders a cotton-field large enough to supply the whole world. Five millions of bales of cotton grown in one district in India, ginned, packed, carried to the seashore, shipped to England and all parts of the world to be spun, woven, re-shipped and carried back to the utmost bounds of the earth,—what myriads of busy hands, what manifold interests of human life, moral, social, and religious, are ultimately bound up in these! And is it not an object worthy the most strenuous endeavours of such an Association as this? and ought we not to strain every nerve by every means in our power, both singly and collectively, to bring about a consummation so devoutly to be wished?

Mr. NREALE PORTER said that the Association in his opinion were acting more usefully in discussing such subjects as the present than by discussing subjects belonging to the region of high politics and statesmanship. With respect to the emigration of Europeans to India, he thought that such emigration would never take place to any large extent on account of the climate, our colonies affording a more desirable field for the energies of Englishmen as colonists. With regard to attracting to the cultivation of the waste land of the Punjaub and Scinde, the border and mountain tribes, he contended that the Government could not do more in the way of giving a fair field for any one who chose to cultivate the soil than it already did by the good government and by the fair and moderate assessment which at present existed. He found that the Imperial revenue, including land-tax or rents, raised in British India did not exceed 6s. per head, and in the Punjaub it did not exceed 4s. In the general scope of Mr. Briggs's object he readily sympathised, as he did in anything that could be written or said tending to increase the happiness of our Indian fellow-subjects, for whom all

* It is estimated from official statistics that since 1790, including their natural increase, no less than 21,000,000 Britons have settled down in the United States, out of the present population of 35,000,000.

Englishmen of any education and enlightenment had the greatest regard, and whose welfare they had thoroughly at heart.

Mr. SLOAN thought that Mr. Briggs should have gone farther, and proposed that some action should be taken on the course pursued by Sir Charles Wood with reference to the steps taken by Lord Stanley. When the waste land rules first came out to India, every one hailed them as the greatest boon that could be conferred upon the country, and almost every individual, whether in the Government service or engaged in trade, looked forward to investing his savings in land. Englishmen in India, from the difficulty of acquiring anything like a landed estate, never thought of looking upon that country as a permanent residence, and the money that would have been expended in India, if they had had opportunity afforded them of beneficially investing their savings in India in land, was brought to England. Lord Canning framed a set of rules, which were afterwards set aside by Sir Charles Wood, and great indignation existed in India at the time when Sir Charles Wood's dispatch came out. Many individuals who were prepared to purchase land, and who had gone to all the expense of preliminary surveys and so on, found that the lands were to be put up to auction, and individuals who had undergone no expense whatever were allowed to bid over the heads of those who had gone to great expense in making the selection. This policy discouraged people from purchasing land. In Madras, for miles and miles together, he had travelled through a country of rich virgin loam, which would yield the highest return if the soil were cultivated; but no inducement was held out to capitalists to enter upon its cultivation. He presumed the gentleman who had last spoken was connected with the revenue system of India, and would know something of the policy which had been pursued by the East India Company.

Mr. NEALE PORTER explained that he was not in any way, nor had he ever been, connected with the public service in India; that on this particular question of Lord Canning's decree, he wrote an article in 1863 in the 'Bombay Saturday Review,' strongly condemning the revocation of that decree by Sir Charles Wood; and on a recent occasion he had expressed himself with some emphasis in favour of Lord Canning's view of the matter.

Mr. SLOAN, in continuation of his remarks, said that previous to 1832 the East India Company's regulations prevented any European acquiring any land in India; but by an Act of Parliament in 1832, lands were thrown open to the cultivation of Europeans. The revenue system continuing in a very bad state, attempts were made to ameliorate the condition of the ryot, the result of which was that the ryot was now in a position to acquire property to the extent of his cultivation, and even to purchase land. With respect to the climate being a bar to the cultivation of the land by Europeans, the ryot cultivated his land in the cool of the morning till about 9 or 10 o'clock, not resuming it till after 3 o'clock, and he contended that if Europeans did the same, no difficulty would be found even in Madras, which was perhaps the hottest of the three Presidencies. Had Europeans been encouraged to become settlers in India, the Indian mutiny would never have assumed the magnitude it did. When Lord Stanley's Waste Land Rules came out to India an association was formed, called the East India Association, for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain land upon which natives might settle; but while the matter was being considered, this objectionable dispatch of Sir Charles Wood came out. He proposed that some action should be taken by the Association, for the purpose of obtaining some modification of the Waste Land Rules applicable to India, so that there should be no necessity for the land to be put to auction.

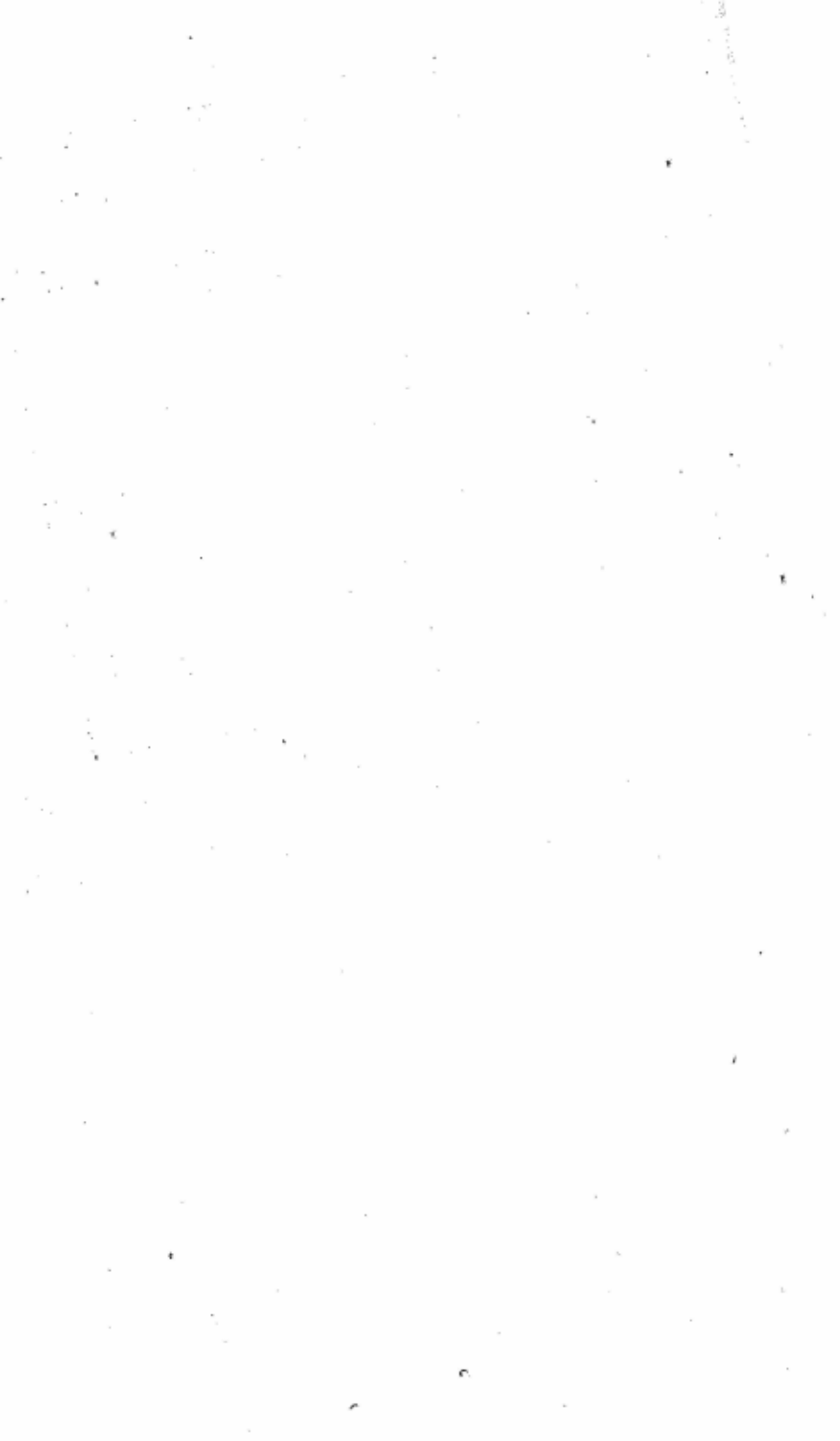
Mr. BRIGGS, in reply, remarked that if it was true that the climate was an obstacle to the cultivation of the land in India by Europeans, there was the more reason why the Government should not interpose another obstacle by the way in which they dealt with the land. He considered that the Government holding the land as the sole land-owners of the country was the very bane of the country, and was an injustice to the commonwealth on economical grounds. He would be ready to contract to give the Government 60,000,000*l.* instead of the 45,000,000*l.* which they now got as revenue, and he would only charge 5 per cent. upon the produce of the soil,—the only tax which he would impose upon the people of India being the income and property tax. If people had 100 acres given them for nothing, or for 5*s.* an acre, they could easily pay 5 per cent. taxes to the Government instead of having to pay a half, or a third, or a fourth of the produce of the soil as it came off the land. He was of opinion that this question, relating as it did to the means of providing the

natives with food, was of even more importance than the question of education. Various proposals had been made for the improvement of the welfare of the people of India, and for the development of the resources of the country; but the great question in all such proposals was from what source were the means to be provided. He thought that by giving away lands to those who would cultivate them, the means would be forthcoming for carrying out those proposals.

The CHAIRMAN said, though he was a military man, he had been almost all his life in the Civil Service, and had taken a great interest in the question of allowing the ryot to redeem his rent-charge. When that desirable state of things was brought about, he thought with Mr. Briggs, that means would be found of carrying on a vast improvement in India. He took far less interest in the question of encouraging Europeans to settle in India than in the question of encouraging the natives to become proprietors of the soil. Still he would be glad to see Europeans settle in the country, if they found that the climate would enable them to carry on agricultural operations, as to which he had his doubts. An Englishman with plenty of money might no doubt grow indigo, or plant countless acres of mulberry trees and raise silk; but after all an Englishman was an exotic in India, who sent his children home to be educated, and who was always looking forward to leaving the country, taking with him the money he had earned there. As had been remarked by Mr. Briggs, this country was painfully indifferent to all questions relating to India. Now that Lord Stanley was in power, it would be open to him to reintroduce what Sir Charles Wood revoked. He thought that waste land ought to be put up to auction and sold to the highest bidder. If a man fixed his eye upon a plot of ground and made a tender to the Government, the Government might very fairly say, "We will not sell this to you in a hole-and-corner fashion; we will not deprive the revenues of the amount which might be paid by another in excess of the sum which you are prepared to give." He hoped that the subject would be resumed on a future occasion, for it was a most important one as regarded the stability of our rule. He would be much more disposed to rely upon natives holding their cowl from the British Government, than upon the few Europeans who might be hap-hazard scattered here and there.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Briggs for his paper.

A vote of thanks was also passed to the Chairman.



JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING, TUESDAY, MARCH 3, 1868.

SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Paper was read by MR. ROBERT KNIGHT :—

India : A Review of England's Financial Relations therewith.

THE subject, Sir, to which I would direct the attention of the Association this afternoon, is one which I have studied closely for many years, and upon which I may perhaps claim an attentive hearing, as the convictions which I have sought to fasten upon the public mind of this country (almost single-handed, and at the cost of not a little opprobrium in the past) are now rapidly becoming the creed of most writers upon Indian finance. I have chosen this subject, however, not simply that I am familiar with it, but that I am persuaded it is the question upon which all who are interested in the right government of India should now concentrate their attention. For, upon a review of the whole field of our administration, I can discern no point of so much importance as its finance.

We are happily working our way at last to a just policy towards the native princes of the country, while the general character of our administration and the principles which guide and control our legislation are, I believe, deserving of almost unqualified praise. Where the Government of India stands alone, its course is marked by an honourable and disinterested regard for the welfare of the people. If error is sometimes committed by the Legislative Councils, that error does not spring from dishonesty of purpose. I feel a pleasure in stating this conviction, as from my vocation I have had to watch the course of the Government closely for years, and in days, happily gone by, had to do more than one sturdy battle against unworthy legislation. Where the Government of India, I say, stands alone, the spirit of its rule is, I honestly believe, purer than any the world has ever yet seen. But, Sir, unhappily that Government does not stand alone, in one important branch of its administration, *viz.* the conduct of its finances. Practically those finances are out of its control altogether. The revenue, now nearly fifty millions sterling a-year, which we draw from our Indian fellow-subjects, is practically administered by the House of Commons, and so deep an interest does that august body take in the work, that it is with great difficulty forty of its members can be got together for a couple of hours, once in every year, simply to listen to, and approve, as a matter of course, whatever has been done with those revenues by the Secretary of State for India in Council and the First Lord of the Treasury. In one word, the tax-payers of this country, by their representatives, vote, in about a couple of hours, and without effective criticism of any kind, the appropriation of every sixpence of the fifty millions of revenue raised in India.

The people of India have no voice whatever in the matter. The tax-payers of this country administer, I say, as they please the taxes raised in that country, and have done so ever since there was an English Government in India at all. Now, the relations between the two countries being infinite in their ramifications, and the maintenance of those relations costly in the extreme, what might we naturally expect to find upon a close examination of the accounts of the two countries respectively? I think we might reasonably expect to find exactly what we do find—an infinite number of positive misappropriations of Indian revenue on the part of the stronger country, and a spirit of selfishness pervading its entire management. Under such conditions, it were simply absurd to expect anything else. It is now about two years since I addressed the London Indian Society upon this subject,* and while my conclusions this afternoon will be precisely what they were then, my attitude towards my audience will be necessarily somewhat different.

* 'The Indian Empire and our Financial Relations Therewith.' Trilbner, 1866.

I was then addressing a body of native gentlemen, and I felt it becoming to expatiate upon the advantages of the English rule in India, and to adopt a tone of apology for my country. I am now in the presence of my own countrymen, and I regret to say that my address can be little else than a long bill of indictment against them; but I do not think that any apology is required for preferring it; for however invidious the task, its necessity is plain. There is no one to rise in Parliament and question the propriety of the vast abstractions we are making year after year from the treasury of India without check of any kind. We do as we please with that treasury, and have ever done so. Every charge that we could connect, however remotely, with the name of India, we have cast upon her; and instead of a scrupulous regard to what equity and good conscience have required—a careful attempt to apportion the cost of maintaining the connection between the countries, upon the principle that each should pay according to the benefits it derives therefrom—we have made India pay the whole. We are still making it do so; and it would seem we still mean to make it do so.

I cannot but rejoice, however, that the true state of matters is beginning to be understood by political writers and speakers in this country. But the other day it was the fashion to speak of India as "a burdensome possession," and this from sheer ignorance of the facts. That India has never cost the people of this country one shilling, has never been allowed to cost them one shilling, but that, on the other hand (to use Mr. Laing's coarse but forcible expression), she has ever been "the milch cow" of this kingdom, and that the whole record of their connection is marked by the most unrighteous appropriations of her revenues to ease the tax-payers of this country, is a fact, I say, happily beginning at last to be understood in England. Like other errors, however, which have been long adopted in the creed of any people, it will be many years before it is completely dissipated. I hold in my hand at this moment a pamphlet published by Smith, Elder, and Co., only last year, written by a person evidently possessing considerable acquaintance with India, and yet bearing the extraordinary title '*India as it Should Be; a Paying instead of a Burdensome Possession of the British Crown*,' and reproducing in its very first page the cuckoo cry, that the normal state of Indian finance is that of chronic deficit. I mention the fact to show how strong a hold these errors still have on the minds even of Englishmen who have paid some attention to Indian subjects. The most striking exhibition of this ignorance, however, was furnished a few weeks ago in the course of the debate in Parliament upon the cost of the *Abyssinian* war.

Now I am unable to agree with those persons who assert that India has no interest whatever in the prosecution of that war. Her interest therein, to my mind, is direct and real, although subordinate, and I think it reasonable that she should be asked to contribute towards its cost. The only matter of debate with me is the proportion which may equitably be demanded of her; and on this point I have yet seen no satisfactory statement. Sir Henry Rawlinson ventured to recommend the expedition to the House of Commons in July last, on the ground that we might make the people of India pay one-half the cost. The same gentleman complained, three or four months later, in the debate on the war, that "instead of the expenditure being equally divided between the two Governments, only one-twelfth of it would fall upon the people of India." On the same occasion Mr. Gladstone spoke of "the very moderate manner in which the Government proposed to draw upon the resources of India." "I must say," said Mr. Gladstone, "that the Government have weakened their own case by making the charge so small. I find that the interest of India in this matter is valued at about eight per cent. on the whole charge, and that eight per cent. is liable, and probably will be subject, to considerable deduction." Mr. Laing, again, who rightly claims that his "prepossessions in a question of this kind are in favour of doing the strictest justice to India," held substantially the same language, as did almost every other speaker; and that impulsive gentleman, Mr. Bernal Osborne, who but a few nights before had vehemently denounced the attempt to make India pay one shilling of the cost, avowed that he was so completely converted to Mr. Gladstone's views, that he was now not satisfied that India "ought not to contribute more to this war."

Now, if the fact were really what these gentlemen declared it to be, namely, that India is asked to contribute just eight per cent. and no more to the cost of this war, I should agree with them, and say that the resources of that empire were being drawn upon very moderately indeed. But is the fact so? If it is, then the history of this expedition, supposing it to be brought to a close within the promised "six

months," will, I venture to say, be unique in the annals of war. The historian will have to tell us that to liberate the captives held by King Theodore, and to vindicate the national honour, such admirable arrangements were made that England was able to launch an army of 10,000 fighting men, in the highest state of efficiency—Engineers, Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry—having the most perfect commissariat arrangements that the age admits of, with a body of camp-followers and attendants 30,000 strong—on the inhospitable shores of the Red Sea; that she marched this splendid force 400 miles into the interior of Africa, through a country wild and savage almost beyond description; that after a six months' campaign in Abyssinia, this vast force was triumphantly marched back to the shores of the Red Sea, embarked on the magnificent fleet there awaiting it, and that so happy a destiny waited upon it, that not a hoof of man or horse was wanting when the good people of Bombay welcomed their army back to their own shores. For the *whole* material cost of this expedition, we are told, is to be just 3,960,000*l.*, of which no more than a trifling contribution of 330,000*l.*, or 8 per cent., will fall to the lot of India. Well, I don't know that war is such a very bad thing after all, if it can be conducted at this mild cost. Do you not see at once that in estimating the Indian share of the cost at eight per cent. we are committing one of those fallacies that spring from our occupying the English stand-point and our inability to occupy the Indian one? Our share in this war, *our* contribution, is measured by three or four millions of pounds sterling. All is definite, clear, and easy to be apprehended. But who is to forecast the contribution India will make thereto? How many of that gallant army which we euphoniously describe as merely *lent* to us, and of that multitude of camp-followers, will find their way back to the homes from which India has sent them? Look at that torn and bleeding and decimated remnant landing there, with *our* outraged honour avenged! Count the skeletons the force has left bleaching in the passes and deserts through which its march has lain, and the Indian homes left desolate, if you would realize aright India's contribution to the war.

The truth is that, looked at rightly, the *whole* cost of this war will fall upon India; and it is this consideration that stamps the higgling controversy about the pay of the troops engaged in the expedition with a littleness too intense to be calmly expatiated upon. And so, mark, has it ever been in the prosecution of these Asiatic wars. It is not true that England contributed one moiety towards the cost of the Persian war, or the first or second China war. In the last thirty years, she has prosecuted in Asia, beyond the confines of India, five or six great wars for imperial purposes (I refer to the China wars, the last Burmah war, the war in Afghanistan, and the Persian war), and in all these cases she has cast upon India almost the whole burden of them. The monstrous doctrine has been laid down that the cost of war consists simply of the extraordinary expenses attending the expedition: the transport of troops, the consumption of war-material, and the expenses of the commissariat—these comprise the whole outlay.

War means the outlay of much money; this is the pecuniary sacrifice:—the destruction of a large amount of material of war also representing pecuniary sacrifice; and lastly, the sacrifice of human life under very harrowing circumstances. Now in all these Asiatic wars India is expected to furnish the holocaust of life, to repair the wear and tear of her war-worn forces out of her own resources, and if we condescend to pay one-half the extraordinary outlay upon such operations, India is to regard herself, it seems, as liberally treated. In the case of the Affghan war, the most costly both in blood and treasure we have ever waged in Asia, the whole cost was cast upon India, although that war from first to last was the handiwork of gentlemen sitting over there in Downing Street.

It is a very cheap and easy way of making war, Gentlemen, to borrow your neighbours' troops for the purpose; but it is just possible those neighbours may think that it is they, and not you, who have borne the greater part of the cost, even though you should defray *all* the expenses of the expedition and the ordinary pay of the troops as well.

I believe that India ought to contribute towards this war; but in my opinion she is already contributing the lion's share in providing the forces, and it was an unworthy thing to ask her to do more. The cost of avenging the insult offered to our common and beloved Sovereign, as the scene of that insult lies near her, India takes upon herself in placing her forces at the disposal of the empire, and she thinks it inexpressibly mean that any part whatever of the mere money outlay of the expedition should be drawn from her treasury; for, after all, it is *she* and not we who are avenging this

insult. What is our contribution of three or four millions of money to the sacrifice she is called upon to make? I think the eight per cent. delusion may be left at this point. England would have done better in these days, when a powerful public opinion is growing up amongst the natives of India, not to have raised this invidious discussion; and Mr. Bernal Osborne will now perhaps go back to the ranks he has so hastily forsaken, although it may be true that India has an incidental interest in keeping "her army in wind," as he says.

I ask you whether it is any reply to the considerations I have advanced, to be told that there is "always in India a necessary margin of disposable force?" "That force," said Mr. Gladstone, "may be applied here or there with reference to circumstances, and not being wanted in India, you may employ it elsewhere, with a solemn pledge that if it should be wanted in India it shall be replaced. Therefore I cannot conceive what this case of injustice may be." The injustice I complain of is the assumption that because India has no immediate occasion for the army she is lending us, she is therefore making no sacrifice in lending it? Was there ever anything so unreasonable?

But there is a solemn pledge, it seems, that if "this army is wanted by India, it shall be replaced." One would imagine from this statement that we were launching 30,000 or 40,000 English soldiers upon Abyssinia. But of the 40,000 men of whom this expedition will consist, not more than six or seven per cent. will be Europeans. At whose expense, I ask, will the native troops be replaced, with all the costly material of war sacrificed with them? And of these troops, be it remembered, the army will chiefly consist. Once more, who can replace "the dead," native or English? In this war India furnishes the ARMY—that first and most costly instrument of all. Nothing is more certain than that she will receive that army back, war and travel worn, and dwindled, in all human probability, to a wreck of its former strength. Who is to replace that army? Who can replace it? The sacrifice is completed, and admits of no substitute. You may build up another army in its room; but who does not know that the whole cost of that new army will fall upon the Indian treasury? You see from these considerations how easy it is for our statesmen, occupying the English stand-point, to overlook in debate the simplest conditions of the question.

Sum up, on the one side, the sacrifices India has been called upon to make since 1837 (the last thirty years) of life and material resources in the Afghan war, the three China wars, the war in Burmah, and the war in Persia, and on the other side the money contributions which England has paid on these accounts. If I say that India has paid 100,000,000*l.* sterling where England has paid 10,000,000*l.*, I am satisfied that I am within the mark. And do not forget that in all these wars the responsibility is ours. England makes war, and India pays for it. I dwell upon this point, for I cannot but feel that the question I have raised this afternoon has an adventitious interest attaching to it, from the fact that since I have selected it for discussion, it has been raised in the House of Commons, for the first time, if I am not mistaken, in our history. Nothing certainly could be more honourable to the House than the general tone of the debate; but it is noticeable chiefly from its having elicited from the greatest financial authority in this country an expression of opinion strongly adverse to the views which I shall urge upon you this afternoon. Mr. Gladstone is reported to have spoken as follows:—

"I am inclined very much to share in the feeling—and I think it is a most laudable and honourable feeling—which is entertained by my hon. friend the member for Brighton, and certainly by some other gentlemen in this House—namely, a sentiment of scrupulous and tender regard to the nature of our relations towards India, and to the fact that we alone have the power in our hands, and are therefore doubly bound to execute it with justice. That feeling may arise more out of the recollection of the ball given to the Sultan and the Viceroy of Egypt last summer—('Hear,' and a laugh)—a rather questionable proceeding, I admit—than out of the merits of the proposal of the Government as it now stands. Sir, it should be remembered that our responsibility for the military government of India is not measured by the amount of troops there. It should be remembered that we are bound to keep in reserve a force adequate to meet all the contingent demands of India. If my hon. friend shall think fit to move for an inquiry, or if the Government should think fit to propose an inquiry—and, for my part, I am very disposed to believe it might be useful—into the distribution of the military and naval charge between England and India under the present arrangements—(Hear, hear)—my opinion, my strong opinion, is that the result of that inquiry

would be a not inconsiderable addition to the charge of India, and a not inconsiderable diminution of the charge of England. (Hear, hear.) Now what happens in this case? India wants men. A soldier can't be made in a day. But we are bound to keep up the stock of soldiers from which the wants of India can be supplied at a moment's notice. India, again, ceases to want men, and the Governor-General and the functionaries there, properly regardful of the rights of the Indian treasury, write home to the Secretary of State, and tell him they can dispense with three, four, or five regiments, as the case may be, and that at such and such a date, it may be a fortnight, those regiments will be on their way back to England. And the moment they come here they become matter of charge against us. They don't come back because we want them, but because India does not want them. (Hear, hear.) This, I know, grows out of the necessity of the circumstances. I am not complaining of it as a grievance. I only wish to bring the fact to the mind of the House. In truth, England must keep a military bank, on which India can draw cheques at pleasure, and to which, again, when it suits her, she may make remittances, whether we have employment for them or not. (Hear, hear.) I own that whatever becomes of the motion of my hon. friend, I think this question of military and naval charge is one that requires consideration."

Sir, I do very earnestly hope, that the promise, or the menace, of inquiry into this subject may be fulfilled. I am quite persuaded that a country which sacrificed 20,000,000*l.* sterling that it might manumit its slaves, requires nothing but enlightenment to make it just in all its relations and dealings with others. If I believed Mr. Gladstone to be exactly informed upon the subject of which he speaks, I should be in despair; but the passage I have read affords clear evidence that Mr. Gladstone has not yet had his attention closely directed to the question. Observe, in the first place, that he has so little knowledge of the history of this question that he believes the attitude of the press thereon to be owing to the very recent recollection of the ball given at the India House to the Sultan the other day. Why, it is well known to gentlemen sitting here that for many years past the publicists of India have been perpetually directing attention to this question. It has been in fact one of the great topics of Indian newspapers ever since the mutiny, the conviction having steadily grown in men's minds, that this country deals unjustly with her great Indian Empire in the management of its finances.

Observe, in the next place, the statement that "this country is bound to keep in reserve a force adequate to meet all the contingent demands of India." It is sufficient surely that I ask in reply, Do you do so from benevolence and good-will to India, or for the maintenance of your empire there? Is it the fact that the Indian garrison at this moment is one man beyond the strength which England for her own safety deems expedient? Does an unselfish regard for the welfare of the people of India regulate the strength of that garrison? Is it not the fact, on the other hand, that we have ever cast upon the Indian treasury the charge of a large proportion of *our* home garrison, on the pretext that the regiments to which the depôts belong are serving in India? During the dread of French invasion a few years ago, and in the very height of the mutiny, our public writers were congratulating the country that we had some 22,000 men in depôt garrison, the whole cost of whom was being borne by the Indian treasury. Look for a moment at that fact! Do you think it creditable that while India was engaged in that death-struggle with the rebellion, to the repression of which we refused to contribute one sixpence, although our interest was as vital therein as her own, we should have cast upon India the cost of the very garrisons upon which we were relying against the French? I really blush for my country when I recall the fact! And this is the conduct, mind, of the richest country upon earth towards one of the poorest, whose affairs she administers in trust.

Again, observe that Mr. Gladstone narrows this question to the mere "distribution of the military and naval charges between England and India." You cannot so narrow the question. For Indian publicists affirm at the outset that when fairly looked into, the Indian debt of 100,000,000*l.* sterling will be found to be an imperial, and not an Indian liability. If then this question is to be brought before Parliament at all, we must take it in its entirety. It will not do to pick and choose the heads of inquiry. If we are to select points where we believe we are strong, and to refuse to open others where we suspect ourselves to be weak, the inquiry will be a mockery. If this question is to be raised at all, and I devoutly hope it may be, then must it be the *whole* question of the financial relations between the two countries.

Lastly, could anything be more misleading than Mr. Gladstone's account of the

way in which the wants of India in the matter of European troops are met? He says that "India demands European troops and returns them just as she pleases, and that England has to furnish them sometimes when she can ill spare them, and at others to receive them back when she does not want them." I can only say that I fear the statement is as contrary to fact as it could possibly be. I am not in the secret of Cabinets, but I believe it is matter of history how India has ever been wronged in this question. When the Cabinet of the day, or the Horse Guards, has wished to round off the home estimates, they have ever resorted, at all events so the East India Company affirmed, to the expedient of sending a regiment or two to India, whether the troops were wanted there or not; and when those regiments should return was a matter wholly within the discretion of the Horse Guards. There are stories upon this subject, of occurrences, even within the last ten years, so scandalous as to be almost incredible.

Mr. Gladstone is far too honest to propagate error wilfully, but certainly nothing could be more misleading or erroneous than the statements I have reviewed.

It is true that India pays nothing towards the cost of the Royal Navy, but it is also true that for very many years she was required to maintain a navy in which the people of India had almost no interest, and the advantages of which were all but wholly engrossed by the commerce of this country. The Royal Navy is maintained for the two purposes of defending our shores from invasion and our mercantile marine from capture in time of war.

I will not say that India might not be required to bear some small proportion of its cost, to be determined upon a full consideration of the extent of the benefits she derives therefrom; but I must remark, that her present exemption is the one solitary instance in the whole field of the financial relations between the two countries in which she is leniently dealt with, and that there are strong reasons why we should hesitate to make her contribute anything. For if we except Bombay, Madras, and Kurrachee, which can be successfully protected only by local defences or gun-boats, there is not a point upon the whole coast of India that could invite hostile invasion. So far, then, as the shores of India are concerned, the Royal Navy might as well not be. The same thing may be affirmed of the second great purpose that Navy serves—*viz.* the protection of our mercantile marine from capture; for India has no mercantile marine to be captured. She is simply a producing country, and, growing commodities which all the world bankers for, her ports are filled with English and foreign shipping soliciting that produce. The carrying trade is in our hands, not hers; and it is our ships that are in danger and our underwriters, and not hers. She has a large fleet of small coasting-vessels, it is true, but these vessels, hugging as they do the shore, would find their most effectual protection in their insignificance, and the ease with which they could evade pursuit by taking refuge in the thousand creeks with which the Indian coast abounds.

As to dangers from piracy, the argument is an anachronism, the old Indian Navy having rooted piracy out of the Indian seas half-a-century ago. And here I remark once more that this question cannot be narrowed as Mr. Gladstone would narrow it. The inquiry must be retrospective. For if it is true to-day that India contributes nothing to the cost of the Royal Navy, it is, on the other hand, true that for half-a-century was she made to support a navy, nine-tenths of the uses of which were engrossed by the commerce of this country, although it never contributed one shilling to the maintenance of that navy. The services of the old *Indian Navy* were almost exclusively imperial in their nature, while the entire cost of that navy was ever cast upon the Indian treasury.

Sir, I do earnestly trust that Mr. Gladstone's promise, or menace, whichever it is, may be carried out. As an Indian publicist, I have for many years been demanding an official inquiry into the financial relations between the two countries, satisfied that such an inquiry, if properly conducted, would lead to the complete subversion of that policy of selfishness which has hitherto controlled them, on the part of English statesmen. The demand for inquiry has been incessantly preferred in India for many years past; and in view of this fact there is something surely grotesque in holding its prospect before us as a menace. It is very much to be doubted, however, whether a Parliamentary Committee is the proper tribunal for conducting such an inquiry. So painful an impression has been left upon my own mind, upon a review of the Parliamentary proceedings of the century touching Indian finance, that I do not hesitate to say an appeal to Parliament upon the subject would be an appeal to a tribunal

which has shown itself, over and over again, too much interested in the establishment of a foregone conclusion to be trusted for one moment with the decision of the question. Many years ago, a very distinguished officer of the Bombay Army, Major, now Colonel, Wingate, well known to many members of this Association as the chief author of the admirable Land Revenue Settlement of the Bombay Presidency, strove very earnestly to get this important subject fairly investigated.* Few men ever possessed equal insight into the conditions of the material prosperity of the people of India with this most able man. I hold in my hand his pamphlet upon this subject, which first powerfully directed my own mind to its investigation; and I could wish that the statesmen and economists of England would read for themselves its exposure of the injustice that has marked all our financial relations with the people of that poor dependency, which we call "the brightest jewel in the British Crown." In common with Colonel Wingate, then, and in reply to Mr. Gladstone's statement, Indian publicists demand the appointment, not of an interested committee of British tax-payers to report upon this question, but the appointment of a Royal Commission.

To the appointment of such a Commission there can be no possible objection on the part of English statesmen, if they share Mr. Gladstone's impressions upon this subject.

In spite of those impressions, there is, I fear, too profound a misgiving in this country as to what the decisions of such a tribunal would be, to allow much hope of our ever seeing it instituted; and yet, remember, we are asking simply for "inquiry." We are not asking to have the matter referred to arbitrators, by whose decision this country would be bound. America is powerful enough to insist upon our arbitrating the claims she has upon us for the career of the 'Alabama.' India, which has suffered a century of what in my conscience I believe to have been the most unrighteous exactions at our hands, asks simply that an impartial tribunal shall inquire into her complaints. We stipulate only that—as India is burdened with a debt of 100 millions sterling, which we honestly believe any Court of Equity in the world would promptly declare to be English liability, and not an Indian one at all—the inquiry shall be a little more comprehensive than Mr. Gladstone suggests.

Our empire in India has been stricken to its foundations within the last ten years, and almost every family in the nation plunged into mourning by the just Nemesis that followed the policy that culminated under Lord Dalhousie; those annexation proceedings concerning a sample of which one of our present judges affirmed that it was "one of the most astonishing, one of the most frightful things in point of justice, of reason, and of law that he ever met with."†

That mutiny was not, as some good but ignorant men in this country believed, a national chastisement, because the Indian Government had not been so "religious" as it ought to have been. There never was a time in our history when the Government was so earnest in the profession of its faith. That mutiny, as I will show presently, was the direct reward of dishonesty. Our profession of religion was exceedingly loud at the time, while our practice was upon a level with that of the vulgar hypocrite who talks religion to his customers over his counter, while serving them with sanded sugar and weighing it in "balances of deceit." It was impossible for the people of India to respect the Government of that day; for while loudly protesting its anxiety for their moral well-being, they saw it committed to a course of steady spoliation throughout the country, and that, too, as in the case of Tanjore, upon pretences for the moral welfare of its victims. The mutiny, with its terrible sufferings, has set all that right, and the question that remains is emphatically this *finance* question. Are we going to solve it uprightly and justly, or is the solution to be got at only through another baptism of blood and grief?

The atmosphere which political men breathe is unfortunately very unfriendly to any true magnanimity or sound morality. Thus it seems to be a settled article of the statesman's creed, that nations cannot be required to show the same scrupulous regard to equity and good conscience in their dealings with each other, which is looked for in individual life. It is to put a strain upon corporate humanity that we must not expect it to bear. And so the standard is deliberately lowered to the conventional mark, and statesmen do not hesitate to commit their country to a course from which they would themselves recoil with disgust if its imitation were proposed to them.

* 'A Few Words on our Financial Relations with India.' By Major Wingate. Richardson Brothers. 1859.

† Sir Fitzroy Kelly in the Tanjore Case.

selves in private life. A curious illustration of this is furnished incidentally in a Parliamentary return of last year upon the subject of our relations with the Nizam.

It is within the knowledge of everyone, I suppose, who hears me that we are at this moment administering in trust for that potentate, certain districts in the Deccan held by us as security for the payment of the Contingent Force. Well, a great effort was made a few years ago to induce him to make over to ourselves the full sovereignty of those districts, which he declined to do. He was then required, on what ground it is hard to tell, to waive his right to an annual account of our stewardship, and to permit us to appropriate any surplus which the districts might yield under our better management. It is difficult to speak with moderation of such a demand. The Resident noticed it as follows:—

"I have heard it argued, why take upon ourselves the trouble and responsibility of managing territory that belongs to the Nizam, without receiving any advantage for our good administration, by obtaining whatever may hereafter be the surplus revenue. I believe I have shown some of the advantages we obtain in the preceding paragraph. Moreover, I do not think such an argument deserves much weight. We obtain what we state we alone require—*viz.* a material guarantee for the regular pay of the contingent. If we require anything else, in my opinion we are bound plainly to say so. Then, again, it would be a most selfish policy to deny to the people of the Berar districts as good a government as we can give them, because we put ourselves to some trouble and inconvenience in managing these districts as trustees for his Highness the Nizam. The whole people of India appear to me entitled at our hands to everything we can do for them in the way of good government without entering too minutely into the question of profit and loss; and in this instance I think it is clear we make no pecuniary sacrifice."*

I venture to think that every person in this room must feel the nobleness of these sentiments. What was Sir Charles Wood's comment upon them?

"I attach less importance to the claim reserved by his Highness to secure any surplus that may arise under our administration, because both the number and constitution of the contingent on the one hand, and the free disposal of the revenues on the other, for purposes of local improvement, rest entirely on your discretion. It would, however, have been more reasonable, in the event of increased revenue resulting either from improved management, or from the returns of capital expended [his own capital—R. K.], that the surplus should have accrued to the State, to whose improved administration alone its existence was due."†

Sir Charles Wood's morality, you see, is conventional. In private life his views would be held to be disgraceful. Look at the character of the claim. We thrust ourselves into the position of trustees of the Nizam, and then set up a claim to any surplus revenue that may accrue under our self-imposed task. If we insist upon administering the affairs of other nations, the least we can do to justify our course is to administer them according to the very best of our ability. Should we fail, the loss is theirs: should we succeed, we have a right, it seems, to appropriate the surplus, and to bring it to this country!

Now this idea of Sir Charles Wood's, that we have a right to make our rule in India a good thing in a pecuniary point of view, has underlaid and vitiated all our relations therewith from the very first. The idea has been fostered by such historians as Mill and Auber. Mr. Mill, of whom we must speak with great respect, laboured, like Auber, under the disadvantage of being a servant of the East India Company, and somehow or other contrived to persuade himself that it was a just and proper thing for this country to get as much as she could out of that one, in return for what, upon very insufficient evidence indeed, he believed to be the superior rule we had established. I say that such a claim must be rejected at once in the clearer light of these days. We never had the right to exact one shilling from India for the rule we assumed therein, a rule which was frightfully disastrous to her people for the first eighty years of its existence, and which has benefited her greatly in the last twenty almost wholly through causes independent of ourselves.

This idea that we had a right to be paid for our rule, in return for the favour we conferred upon India by assuming it, has regulated all our proceedings towards her: while our steady and incessant exactions resulted, as I shall show you presently, in

* East India—Deccan: Par. Return, May 31, 1867.

† Ibid.

bringing the whole empire to the verge of pauperization, from which it has been rescued by the providence of God, spite of our own utterly selfish selves.

In reviewing the history of our financial relations with our great dependency, the first thing that strikes us is this, that our century of rule has resulted in a debt of 165,000,000*l.* sterling. At the outset then there is a presumption that there has been bad management; for debt, nine times out of ten, means bad management. There has been no interference with us, mind, in the management of the Indian revenues; we have had them wholly in our own hands, and we have got the country 100,000,000*l.* into debt. Well, how has that come about? That debt unhappily represents a very small part of the waste and misappropriation of Indian resources of which this country has been guilty. And first of all—

I, for one, have never been able to understand how the debt of the East India Company ever came to be regarded as a debt for which the people of India were responsible. The East India Company were simply trustees of the English Crown, and their liabilities were incurred in the wars which they prosecuted in its behalf in the acquisition or defence of territory.

These wars were either commenced under the orders of the Crown, or were formally sanctioned thereby, and the vast territories which were acquired by conquest were held to be the property, not of the East India Company, but of the English Crown. The Crown has appropriated the territory, but has formally repudiated all responsibility for the outlay which the conquest involved. The East India Company were simply trustees, I say, of the English Crown, and the extraordinary spectacle was presented to the world, of the English Crown devolving upon this Company the right of making war in Asia to what extent it pleased,* so long as the fruits of victory were made over to the nation, and the cost discharged by the Company.†

But the Company had no funds to carry on war. When Lord Clive obtained the grant of the Dewanee, in 1765, in other words, when the Company first became rulers of Bengal, they were already heavily in debt;‡ a debt incurred with the full knowledge and sanction of the Crown, in prosecuting our life and death struggle with the French in the Carnatic.

Now, I want to know what possible justification there was for imposing that debt upon the shoulders of the people of Bengal, who were removed half a continent from the scene? We had been conducting a war against our old rivals, the French, for many years in Southern India with varying success, partly by the East India Company and partly by the direct resources of the Crown. The result was, that the French were crushed, but the Company involved heavily in debt. At this juncture, Lord Clive conquered Bengal, and without inquiring for a moment what rights that conquest, or the gift of the Dewanee which followed it, conferred upon us, a disgraceful rush was made upon the revenues of the unhappy province by the whole nation. The East India Company at once fastened all its liabilities upon them, and were assured by Clive, in his secret letter of September 30, 1765, that they might count upon a surplus revenue of 1,650,000*l.* sterling a-year therefrom.§ The Crown of England formally sanctioned whatever disposal the Company was pleased to make of these revenues, upon the respectable condition that the Company paid 400,000*l.* a-year into the English Exchequer as the nation's share of the spoil.|| Conceal the fact as we please from ourselves, or gloze it over as we may, the simple truth is that the nation gave the Company a great buccaneering commission to plunder the princes and people of India as they pleased, on condition that an annual contribution of 400,000*l.* a-year was made from their spoils into the English treasury. Now this was the beginning of the so-called debt of India; for vast as was the revenue at the Company's disposal, it was unequal to the demands made upon it. The province was drained dry. One-third of the territory became jungle. War after war was prosecuted—the cruel Rohilla war¶ amongst them—and vast acquisitions of territory made; and as the revenues of Bengal could not sustain the cost, the brilliant idea was conceived of pledging the resources of the people of India to a debt. Thus the revenues of Bengal were used to subvert first the empire of Mysore, and then the revenues of Mysore to subvert the empire of

* Charter, April 3, 1661. Mill, vol. I., p. 64: ed. 1858.

† Commons Report, June 26, 1805, p. 171.

‡ Mill, vol. iii., pp. 362-4.

§ Appendix to Third Report, 1773, p. 394.

¶ 7th George III., chap. 57. See also Ninth Report, 1763, p. 15.

|| Mill: ed. 1858, vol. iii., pp. 393-5. Marshman's History, vol. i., pp. 415-20.

the Mahrattas, and so on. And when the revenues failed, the Company boldly forestalled them by borrowing upon their credit. The Company, with the full sanction of the Crown, prosecuted vast wars, I say, on its behalf, not merely with native troops, but wholly with native revenues and native credit, and when the Crown formally took over the empire from their hands a few years ago, the boast was as true as it was disgraceful, that the Company had "won that empire for the Crown, without the expenditure of one shilling on the part of this nation." The truth is that the Company bribed this nation to continue the Government in their hands, by a tacit promise to make their conquests in India support themselves. We have built up our Indian empire wholly out of the resources of the people themselves, and now declare that the debt which the East India Company left as the result of this policy, is no concern of ours. Not an English writer has touched upon the first Napoleon's wars in Europe who has not spoken with indignation of his policy of making war support itself; but, Sir, we have been ourselves the chief masters of that art. That hundred millions of debt hanging round the neck of the people of India represents a small part of the price at which our wonderful empire there has been founded; but not content, as other conquerors have been, with empire as an equivalent for the sacrifices through which it has been won, we insist that the people of India shall themselves pay to the last farthing the cost of the wars in which their own native rule was overthrown. The advantages of empire are ours; the cost of its acquisitions theirs, even though their resources should have to be pledged a hundred millions deep to meet it. Do not let us deceive ourselves. The course we have followed contrasts so strikingly with the history of our colonial acquisitions and other dependencies (all made fairly and honestly at our own expense), that it is amazing men can be found to talk about India in any terms but those of pity and indignation. But this is not the worst part of this story, as we shall see by-and-by, when I come to describe how the people of India have been made by this nation to defray the cost of wars carried on beyond their frontiers for purely Imperial purposes, and wholly by Imperial orders.

I have pointed out how, at the very beginning, the whole cost of the Company's, in other words, the nation's, long struggle for supremacy with the French on the Coromandel coast, years before they had any territory in India, was boldly cast upon the shoulders of the people of Bengal the moment its revenues were acquired. Now the Company estimated the cost of that war towards the close of the century at upwards of five millions sterling. So that the people of India have really paid, including interest, the enormous sum of 160 millions sterling for a struggle that was waged by this nation against its French rivals long before those people became our subjects at all. They might as justly have been required to pay the cost of the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns in Europe. The struggle was maintained, from first to last, purely for national purposes, and was assisted throughout by the forces of the Crown. When the work was accomplished and the Company's bill had to be paid, there was the God-send of the Bengal Dewanee to meet it, and a draft was sent boldly in for the whole amount.

I might enlarge, Sir, upon the private exactions wrung out of that unfortunate province during the first twenty years of our rule therein. It is quite impossible to estimate their amount; nor does any history of India that I know of give any adequate idea of the ruthless course of spoliation that set in with Lord Clive's victories of 1757. The Ninth Report of 1783, Bolt's Indian Affairs, and Dow's Introduction, all inaccessible to the general reader, lift the veil partially upon the hateful spectacle. The course begun by Lord Clive resulted in reducing at last one-third of the Dewanee territory to jungle. How could it be otherwise? The nation was delirious with the brilliant prospects held out to it by Clive. In the language of the House of Commons itself (its Ninth Report), Bengal "suffered what was tantamount to an annual plunder of its manufactures and its produce to the value of 1,200,000*l.*" from the exactions of the Crown and Company alone. What the private spoil amounted to, it is impossible to estimate. Suffice it to say that, by the consent of the authorities of the period, it was not less than some 20,000,000*l.* sterling from 1757 to 1782. For twenty years after the acquisition of the Dewanee the territories were a scene of misery and oppression such as the world has seldom seen, while a steady and continuous drain upon their supposed wealth, but actual destitution, went on. It would be impossible to read in this, or in any other modern assembly, Commissioner Paterson's evidence of what took place under our rule of Bengal during the first twenty years of that rule.

To dignify the Company's investments at that period with the name of trade were to prostitute the term.* Their dividends were wrung from the misery of the people committed to their rule, and to the shame of this country it guaranteed those dividends upon being permitted to share this spoil. Act after Act of Parliament was passed confirming them in possession of the territories they were destroying, upon condition of their paying a certain annual proportion of the revenues into the English Exchequer. Under these Acts a great many payments were made, and it was not until the resources of the provinces utterly broke down that they were discontinued. These direct and open appropriations of money made by the English Exchequer from the Indian Treasury, under the authority of these Acts and in some other ways, amount to-day, with interest at 5 per cent. only, to the enormous sum of 400 to 500 millions sterling.†

Let it be well understood that these sums of money were taken solely by the superior might of this country from the poverty-stricken people of Bengal—for it was upon that province the whole weight of these exactions fell—without pretext, plea, or pretence of any kind that we had a right to them, except the right of the stronger. I ask you, as Christian gentlemen sitting here to-day, do we owe this money to the people of India, or has time condoned the wrong? By an act of pure violence we seized upon the taxes of Bengal, and brought them annually to this country, and we abandoned the claim only when the territory broke completely down under the exaction.

I have now to direct your attention to a transaction of later times. You may remember that the monopoly of the trade with India which the East India Company enjoyed under its charters was put an end to in 1814, and that from that year the trade with India was thrown open to the private merchants of this country. The monopoly of the *China* trade was continued to the Company twenty years longer, down to the year 1834. Upon the expiration of the charter in that year the Company was deprived of all trading character whatever, and required to confine itself to an administration of the political affairs of India, in trust for the English Crown. Up to this period the Company had retained its character as a society of merchants engaged in trade. It was now required to desist therefrom altogether, and it became, under the Act of 1834, a purely political body.

The joint trading and administrative operations in which the Company had been engaged, had ended in the accumulation of a debt of some 60,000,000*l.* sterling. Two years ago I spoke upon this subject as follows:—

“The paid-up capital of the old East India Company amounted to the sum of 6,000,000*l.* sterling, and with this capital they carried on the somewhat incongruous occupations of East India merchants and rulers of India. Well, it was found impossible to keep the accounts of the two separate; and in 1834, when Parliament put an end to the trade of the Company altogether, the capital of the Company had disappeared, and a debt of 50 or 60 millions sterling was owing by them. Whether the revenues of India had gained or lost, upon the whole, by the trade of the Company, no man could tell. Some said one thing; some another. The only thing that was certain was, that the financial result of the joint business of trading and ruling, was an enormous debt. The Company and India were ever treated, by this country, as partners; and under that partnership the former was empowered, by Act of Parliament—let the net result of their trading and governing be what it might—to declare a dividend every year of 10 per cent. upon their 6,000,000*l.* of capital called East India Stock, even though they had to borrow the money to pay it. The result was that the price of that Stock ruled constantly somewhat above 200. Well, in 1834, the nation determined to put a stop to the trade of the Company altogether, and to confine them to the business of administration. It was affirmed that the interests of English merchants demanded that the trade should henceforth be open in their favour. The Company itself protested that great profits had accrued to the Indian revenues from the trade, and that their debt would have been much heavier but for these profits. I believe it was impossible to determine, with any reasonable certainty, what the net result of the trade had been, except for the last few years of its continuance.

* Ninth Report, 1783, pp. 14-27. *Bott's Indian Affairs*. *Dow's Introduction to History of Hindostan*. *Lord Clive's Letters*. Appendix to Third Report, 1773.

† See List of them at length, at p. 60 of Papers respecting the Negotiation for the Charter of 1814. Printed by Court of Directors, 1813.

"Parliament resolved, however, and wisely, that the trade of the Company, whether it were profitable or otherwise, should cease, in the interests of the private merchants of Great Britain. In other words, the partnership between the East India Company and the people of India was declared dissolved, and as there were little assets to divide, but enormous liabilities to meet, it was generously determined that the East India Company should be let out of the partnership, and the people of India required to pay the Company *just twice the amount of their paid-up capital*, or a sum of 12,000,000*l.* sterling, on the ground that they had for very many years been empowered by the same Parliament to declare an annual dividend out of Indian revenues of 10 per cent. upon their 6,000,000*l.* of Stock!

"It is truly amazing that such a transaction should have been possible. Upon the supposition that the trade was profitable, surely it was reasonable, when transferring that trade to the merchants of this country, that *they* should have indemnified the East India Company for its loss. On the other hand, if the trade was not profitable, it was monstrous to require the people of India to recoup the Company twofold for the capital it had lost therein.

"If we even assume that the Company's capital had been sunk on territorial account, the replacement of that capital out of the revenues of India was all that could be justly exacted therefrom; while to require that India should pay a forfeit of 6,000,000*l.* sterling beyond that capital, that the merchants of Great Britain might obtain the advantages of an open trade with China, does seem the very acme of injustice.

"However, so it was determined, and the result is, that you will find a charge of 630,000*l.* entered year by year in the Indian balance-sheet as the first item of the Home charges. This item alone represents (without interest) an abstraction of capital from India since 1834 of no less a sum than 19,000,000*l.* sterling! With interest at five per cent only, it would represent, I suppose, two-thirds of the present debt of India."

Now since making that statement I have looked a good deal more closely into the matter, and am compelled to make the picture a good deal darker.

It was admitted by the Company themselves that their trade with India for many years before its close had been carried on at a loss, and even if we allow that the trade with China had been profitable to the full extent made out by the Company's accountants, I am persuaded, after looking carefully into the controversy, that so far from the Company having earned in trade the large dividend which they had annually appropriated for nearly three-quarters of a century, that dividend had ever come out of the revenues of India. Viewing the circumstances under which that trade was carried on after the acquisition of the Dewanee by Lord Clive in 1765, I have not a doubt that an honestly prepared balance-sheet of the Company's trade from that year down to the year 1834—and it would be quite possible to prepare such a balance-sheet—would show that the trade, though a monopoly, had resulted in uniform loss. I say this after a comprehensive and careful review of all the discussions of the period. The Company's trading operations upon the whole were simply disastrous, and the dividends they had appropriated year after year under the pretence that they were earned in trade, were simply wrung, under the legislative sanction of this country, from the pockets of the unhappy people of India.* It would be impossible for me on this occasion to go at length into the proof of this statement, but I will direct your attention to one or two facts which it is desirable to state. And the first is this: that the Company's trade was carried on for seventy years before its close wholly upon the credit and resources of the Government of India. The fiction was that the two-thirds of a million a-year divided by the gentlemen in Leadenhall Street were the profits earned upon the employment of their 6,000,000*l.* of paid-up capital.

Upon this point a remarkable statement was made before the Select Committee of 1830 by one of the witnesses:—

"I will only advert," said Mr. Rickards, "to one circumstance which happened in the year 1813, when Mr. Cartwright, the late Accountant-General of the East India Company, was examined before the Select Committee, of which I was a member. Mr. Cartwright, upon that occasion, was asked a question with regard to the Company's capital, and his answer was simply this: 'Capital, Sir, I have been forty years in the Company's service, and I never could find out that they had any capital at all.'"[†]

Mr. Rickards tells us that the statement gave such offence to one of the directors of

* Wilson's Note, p. 314. Mill's Third Volume: ed. 1858.

† First Report, 1830, p. 461.

the Company who was present on the occasion, that Mr. Cartwright requested to be allowed to modify it. But, Sir, he had told the simple truth. I have gone all through the elaborate efforts made by the Company's auditor, subsequently, to establish the fact that the Company had a capital to lose, and I say, unhesitatingly, that there is no room for honest doubt that the Company's capital had been swallowed up over and over again in their dividends and early wars.

From the date of the Dewanee, the power of the Company to trade at all was derived entirely from its command of the revenues of Bengal, and its credit as the Government of India.* If any of my hearers want confirmation of these statements, I refer them to the Ninth Report of the Committees of 1782 as to the nature of the Company's trade; and as to its dependence upon the credit and resources of the revenues of India, to a letter addressed by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas (afterwards Viscount Melville) to the Chairman of the East India Company, dated 3rd June, 1801, in the Blue Book of 1805. It will be remembered that Mr. Dundas was President of the Board of Control, and the subject of his letter was "The Indian Debt."

Now, as it was upon the credit and resources of the people of India that the Company's trade was carried on, it would have been but just to the former that if any profits were made, they should have been permitted to share therein. But the revenues of India were never even credited with the interest which had to be paid upon the advances required for their investments. All the resources of India and all its credit were used in this great one-sided partnership as freely as the Company pleased, while the notion that the people of India had any claim on the profits that might result from these operations seems never to have entered any man's mind in those days. All the interest the people of India had in the matter was to supply funds for the Company's investments, and 630,000*l.* a-year for their dividends, let the result of the trade be what it might. As a matter of fact the loss was uniform and could not possibly be otherwise.† In the year 1814, as I have said, Parliament threw open the trade with India to private enterprise, but continued to the Company a monopoly of the China trade for twenty years longer. This suited the Company very well, for it did not deny that the monopoly of the trade with India had resulted in nothing but loss. To ascertain what the results of the China trade alone would be, the Company was required to make a complete separation in that year between its accounts as a commercial corporation, and its territorial revenues and expenditure. I wish you now to mark particularly what took place. There was no doubt whatever, there could be no doubt whatever, in any honest mind, that the Company's capital of 6,000,000*l.* had been swallowed up, in dividends and losses, over and over again. The Company could not trade upon nothing, and to provide it, in its trading character, with a capital, what do you think was done? Under sanction of the Board of Control, for Parliament never knew of the matter until twenty years afterwards, the Company were empowered to open their books with a capital of 21,000,000*l.* by the very convenient method of assuming that every asset the Company held that was at all commercial in its form or origin, should be held to belong to them in their capacity of private merchants.‡ No matter how that property had been acquired, the millions of produce lying in their warehouses in London, and the millions more on their way home from India and China, purchased from first to last out of Indian revenues—all was declared to be the commercial assets or capital of the Company, while the debt round their necks was transferred to the debit of their territorial account. Under this convenient arrangement, the long period of bad trading and losses which followed the acquisition of the Dewanee in 1765, resulted in leaving the Company with a capital of 21,000,000*l.* sterling, although they had started with nothing, and had divided 23,000,000*l.* of dividends during the intervening half-century!§ The transaction nearly takes away one's breath. Twenty years afterwards, when the trade with China also had to be given up, the Company's balance-sheet was made out in conformity with this fiction of 1814, and the Company's advocates protested that they were defrauded out of 9,000,000*l.* when the amount of their capital in that year was struck down to the limit of 12,000,000*l.* That sum, Gentlemen, the people of India have been required to pay: they are paying it now, year by year, at the rate of two-thirds of a million, to purchase the privilege of an

* Wilson's Note, quoted above. Parliamentary Returns: East India, 1805.

† MacCulloch, 1853 ed., p. 552. Select Committee, 1830: First Report, 481. Ninth Report, 1783. Olive's Letters. Appendix to Third Report, 1773.

‡ Select Committee, August 18, 1832, p. 206. Also xxvii.

§ Macgregor, part xxii, p. 223.

open trade with the East for our merchants. The transaction looked at justly was simply an infamy. British tax-payers decided that something must be paid to get rid of the Company's monopoly, and the readiest way to do it was to make the Indian tax-payer, already so cruelly oppressed in the matter, pay 12,000,000*l.* for the purpose. But even that was not the limit of the wrong. The Company's princely commercial establishments at Canton and elsewhere had to be closed, and compensation made to their employees for the loss of their appointments. You know how grand the Company's ideas were, and the magnificence of the scale on which their fleet and commercial agencies were paid. A dozen of their head-clerks in Canton alone received salaries of 7000*l.* to 10,000*l.* a-year each, although they lived in the utmost splendour at the Company's expense. Now, the whole commercial staff of the Company was held to have a sort of "vested interest" in their appointments, so that, instead of being simply pensioned off by their masters, they claimed "compensation annuities" for the loss of their appointments. The Company admitted the claim, but, instead of defraying it themselves, were empowered by the Act of 1834 (Sec. 9) to make the people of India find the money. The section is so worded that not one reader out of ten thousand would imagine what it involved. It involved the payment out of Indian taxes for an indefinite period of 150,000*l.* a-year,* or, capitalized, a sum, I suppose, of 3,000,000*l.* sterling. So that the abolition of the Company's trade in 1834—a trade which, from the acquisition of the Dewanee, had been fraught with nothing but cruel wrong to India, and which was abolished at last in the interests of British merchants alone—had to be purchased by the people of India at the frightful cost of 15,000,000*l.* sterling, amounting, at 5 per cent. interest, to-day to 70,000,000*l.* or 80,000,000*l.* sterling. I ask you, is it possible to conceive wrong-doing more gross? To treat the Indian debt as a debt owing by the people of India—is to deliberately shut our eyes to the process by which that debt was incurred.

Another plain and direct misappropriation of the revenues of India was the casting upon those revenues of the expenses of the Company's establishments at St. Helena, Bencoolen, Malacca, and Prince of Wales Island. St. Helena was acquired a full century before the Company held a foot of territory in India outside their factories, and both it and Bencoolen were acquired and maintained purely for purposes connected with the commerce of the Company. The following pertinent question was put to Mr. Cosmo Melvill by one of the members of the Select Committee of 1830:—"5857. As the island of St. Helena was acquired long previously to the acquisition of the Dewanee in Bengal, and for purposes avowedly and exclusively commercial, on what ground have their expenses in general been charged to the political department (i. e. to the revenues of India)?" I wish you particularly to mark the answer:—"There was a correspondence," replied Mr. Melvill, "between the Court of Directors and the Board of Commissioners upon that subject, and that correspondence ended in a resolution to charge the expense of St. Helena to the territory." But I suppose no living man would venture to maintain that the people of India had any, even the remotest, interest in these outlying territories. St. Helena and Bencoolen were acquired and maintained before the Company had any territory in India whatever for its commercial needs; but the moment they got possession of the revenues of Bengal, they cast the expense of both places upon the unhappy people of that province. One after another all these settlements have been abandoned, or the sovereignty of them assumed by the English Crown; but their acquisition and maintenance had cost the people of India in round figures the principal sum of 10,000,000*l.* to 12,000,000*l.* sterling so far back as the year 1834, when, upon the cessation of the Company's trade, St. Helena was taken by the Crown. Thus the cost of these settlements alone, which should have been defrayed either out of the Company's trade, or out of the revenues of this country, amounts to-day, at 5 per cent. interest only, to a sum equivalent to the whole Indian debt! This wrong-doing, Sir, is so plain that it admits of no question.

Take, again, the conquest of Ceylon. In old Parliamentary Blue Books of the early part of the century you will find a good deal of discussion upon this subject, the Company having striven very earnestly for years, in this instance, to prevent the wrong that was being done. I shall state the case in the very words of the Company. Remonstrating in 1803 against the course of the Crown, they wrote:—

"In the case of the capture of Ceylon, Government directed the Company to take

* *Lords' Report—East India Company, 1846, p. 4.*

possession of that island at a time when this country was not at war with the Dutch. It was conquered at the expense of the Company, but, contrary to all former example, instead of being united to their other Indian territories, was, at the end of two years, made a King's Government. Afterwards, the charge and maintenance of it, with an expensive establishment of Crown officers, was committed to the Company, under a declaration that no reason appeared why, if it were retained on in peace, it should not be made over to them. When they had held it for six and-a-half years, at an expense of 1,500,000*l.*, Government again took it from them without reimbursing any part of their expenditure; and finally, upon a peace, the island was ceded to Great Britain, the government of it was retained by the Crown, and payment of the heavy outlay to which the Company had been subjected by the conquest and charge of this possession (excepting only one-half the expense of capture—that is 168,000*l.* out of 1,474,000*l.*), is now refused.*

In the same way, the Company fought very hard to get the Indian revenues reimbursed for the cost of the expeditions they were required by the English Government to fit out to attack the Cape of Good Hope, Manila, the Mauritius, and the Moluccas. So plainly was their demand founded in justice, that a Committee of the House of Commons in 1808 reported upon the subject as follows:—

"Your Committee cannot, in justice to the Company, conclude this part of their report without calling the attention of the House to the remonstrances made against the mode adopted by the Committee in 1805, to take into consideration the account between the public and the East India Company, as far as relates to the expenses in the capture and maintenance of Malacca and the Moluccas, and the maintenance of Ceylon—a mode of decision by which claims on the part of the Company to no less an amount than 1,972,984*l.* have been set aside."†

You would surely imagine, after that, that tardy justice was done. No such thing. The Company prosecuted their claim persistently down to the year 1822, when it amounted, with interest, to 5,185,088*l.* In that year the Company was paid 1,300,000*l.* to close its mouth, and 4,000,000*l.* sterling were written off as a bad debt owing by this country. That sum amounts to-day, with 5 per cent. interest—and India has never borrowed, upon the average, at so low a rate—to about 35,000,000*l.* sterling.

The next item which I shall specify is the cost of the Afghan war. Now, at the time when that war was decided upon by the English Cabinet, nothing could be more satisfactory than the state of the Indian finances. There was a large and steady surplus in the annual accounts, and had the country been left in peace there is not the slightest reason to believe that any change for the worse would have appeared therein. It is not possible for me here to narrate the circumstances which led the English Ministry to decide upon the invasion of Afghanistan. Suffice it to say that so unjustifiable is that war now seen to have been, that almost by common consent it has come to be described as "the iniquitous" Afghan war.

So profound, moreover, were the misgivings of which the English Cabinet were conscious, as to the grounds of that war, that they did not dare present the papers to Parliament in their integrity, but deliberately garbled the dispatches of Sir Alexander Burnes, the envoy at Cabul, to give a colour of justification to their course. The people of India were no more responsible for that war than the people of New Zealand; and yet were they required not only to furnish, as in all these wars, the life lost therein, but every shilling of the cost, to the very last farthing. There has been a great deal of dispute as to what amount the war really cost. Some have estimated it at 20,000,000*l.* sterling. I myself looked closely into the matter some years ago, and arrived at the conclusion, that before the last traces of the war disappeared from the Indian balance-sheet the sum amounted to nearer 40,000,000*l.* than 20,000,000*l.* Now bear in mind that the people of India were unable to meet that cost out of their revenues, and had to borrow heavily to defray it. Well, if you take the lowest estimate of the cost, 20,000,000*l.*, and add 5 per cent. interest for the twenty-eight years that have passed away, the amount which that war has cost your fellow-subjects in India, principal and interest together, is just 80,000,000*l.* sterling. I ask you, as honest men, whose debt that really is? Ours or theirs? You know how unjustifiable the war was, and how, from first to last, it was the doing of this nation;‡ and yet we make India furnish not only the army that perished in the invasion, but every shilling

* Report Committee, 1831-2, vol. E., App., p. 186.

† Report Committee, 1805, App., 169-171.

‡ Third Report Select Committee, 1853, p. 49.

of the cost, from its commencement to its close; and when she was forced to borrow money to defray the vast outlay it entailed, we even refused the national guarantee to enable her to borrow at 3 per cent. instead of 5!

That I may not detain you, I pass over our China wars, the last war in Burmah, and the Persian war—concerning every one of which may the severest strictures be made upon the conduct of this country in apportioning the cost—and will simply sum up the half-dozen instances I have given of our direct misappropriations from the India revenues during the short time we have administered them:—

Principal Amount, with Interest at 5 Per Cent.

1757. War against the French in the Carnatic (estimated at 5,000,000 <i>l.</i>)	£160,000,000
1783. Private exactions owing from Bengal, 1757 to 1782 (estimated at 20,000,000 <i>l.</i>)	1,200,000,000
1757 to 1808. Direct appropriations by the English Crown under Act of Parliament (3,135,000 <i>l.</i>)	450,000,000
1834. East India Company, for abolition of their trade (15,000,000 <i>l.</i>)	75,000,000
1757 to 1834. St. Helena, Bencoolen, &c. (10,000,000 <i>l.</i> to 12,000,000 <i>l.</i>)	100,000,000
1800-3. Conquest of Ceylon, Cape of Good Hope, &c. (4,000,000 <i>l.</i> in 1822)	35,000,000
1840-2. The Affghan War	80,000,000
	<hr/>
	£2,100,000,000

Fabulous as the amount appears, I am persuaded that it falls very far short of the real measure of our wrongful exactions from that country. For I have taken no account of the Company's dividends drawn from its revenues under the pretence that they were earned in trade, nor of the high rate of interest at which the Company ever borrowed, nor of the numberless payments made year by year under the head of Home Charges, which ought to have been borne by this country. I have given simply a few of the grosser instances of our want of consideration for the people of that country, and you see the almost fabulous sum they amount to. The Home Charges proper have all this while steadily augmented, and the amount of Family Remittances, till they reach at the present moment 12,000,000*l.* to 15,000,000*l.* sterling a-year,* the annual penalty which the people pay for the establishment of foreign rule in their country. It is impossible for me to enter upon any detailed examination of them here, but I may say that from the year 1757, when Bengal virtually fell under our dominion, down to the present year, the net amount of wealth transferred from that country to this under the head of Home Charges and Family Remittances has not fallen short of 400,000,000*l.* sterling, and were interest computed upon the amount, the figures would seem too extravagant for statement.

And now let me point out the effects which these enormous abstractions of capital from India had upon that country. It is barely twenty years, then, since the condition of its masses everywhere—a condition brought about directly by these exactions—was so abject as to excite the deepest alarm on the part of every man who understood what that condition really was. The public mind of this country is just now interested in a correspondence which has recently taken place in India between the Supreme Government and certain of its officials on the comparative merits of British and native administration in India; and upon the whole the correspondence may be regarded as favourable to ourselves. The inquiry happens to be made at a moment when the tendency of our short-sighted and purely selfish administration has been counteracted in the most singular manner by events for the occurrence of which we can claim no credit whatever, and but for which I am satisfied there would have been but one testimony to-day of the calamitous character of our rule. The events to which I refer are the discovery of the gold-fields of California and Australia, the expansion of the opium-trade, the Crimean war, the Mutiny, and, above all, the late civil war in America. These are events for which I suppose the most patriotic of Englishmen will admit we are entitled to take no credit, while nothing is more certain than that we owe the present material prosperity of British India almost wholly thereto.

* Note A, p. 253.

I first landed in India in 1847, and I well remember the shock which my complacency sustained at finding myself followed along the Poonah road with the imprecations of a poor naked fakir, who cursed me and my nation "by his gods" for having reduced his country to pauperism. The burden of his story was that since our coming we had drained the country of every silver rupee that it contained. Looking back upon the poor fellow's story, with more insight now than I had then into the condition of his times, I am compelled to avow my belief that the effect of our rule had been precisely what he so passionately affirmed with oaths and curses. How this came to pass is now well understood by Indian economists. The disappearance of silver, and consequent depression of the whole agricultural class of the country to a condition of abject dependence upon the sowcar or native banker, was the result partly of the change of administrative system introduced by us, under which we exacted the land revenue in silver, where, under our native predecessors, it had been taken in kind, and partly of the giant system of absenteeism by which our rule was unavoidably marked. India can obtain silver, to provide her people with ornaments and to replenish her wasteful currency, only by her exports of produce; while those exports, under our rule, were so largely absorbed by our exactions, and by our system of absenteeism, that her imports of bullion never kept pace with the growing necessity for them.* Our fiscal system, moreover, threw ten times the work upon the currency which it ever had done before, while the necessities of a foreign rule, and the wrongful exactions of that rule, absorbed so much of the exports of the country as made an importation of bullion upon the required scale impossible. The result was that prices everywhere fell to a point which reduced the agricultural masses to the most abject want; a condition from which the providence of God alone, and not any statesmanship of ours, has redeemed them. During the first half of the present century prices of produce fell heavily, and the period of their recovery is exactly coincident with the discovery of the gold-fields, the springing up in Europe of a demand for new exports, oil-seeds, hemp and jute, through the Russian war, the expansion of the opium trade, and the extraordinary prices paid for cotton since the year 1861. We owe to these events, I say, that upon a review of our administration we are able to-day to assume a somewhat reassuring tone.†

But what was the result of that rule twenty years ago? And to what had it brought the people everywhere? The testimony is, I believe, as unanimous as it is sickening. Instead of our rule contrasting favourably with native rule, it was a blight upon every province to which it reached. The revolution which has taken place is one of the most extraordinary and unlooked-for events of modern history. No thanks to us, however, for the change. Our system is the very same to-day that it was then, and has the same pauperizing tendencies. The check which the country has sustained within the last two years, since the cessation of the American war, shows plainly the old causes at work still. For two years past, under the heavy drain of the Home Charges, and our system of absenteeism (absorbing some 15 or 16 millions of exports), all power to import silver has been lost, and it is hard to say when it will reappear. The rupee, which for many years had been worth about 2s. 1d. in exchange, has fallen month after month for the last two years, till it is now barely worth 1s. 10½d. The prosperity of India depends upon her ability year by year to supply herself with silver in our markets, for she produces none herself, and her commerce must stagnate and decay if our rule prevents the natural expansion of her currency, the repair of its waste, and the current wear and loss of the ornaments of 200,000,000 of people. I cannot bring myself to believe that India under our rule will ever again tread the bitter depths she has trodden in the past, but it is sufficient ground of alarm that the causes of that misery exist in greater force to-day than they ever did.

The condition of wretchedness into which British India had come about the year 1840-1847 is almost indescribable. Allow me to direct your attention to some pictures which have been left us of the period. Some of you will remember a series of letters which appeared in the Calcutta press about the year 1837, under Lord Wm. Bentinck's administration, concerning the character of our rule. The letters created a profound sensation everywhere. The veil of our self-love was rudely torn aside, and the principles and effects of our rule laid bare by one whose eyes were opened to the facts. The author of these letters proved to be the Honourable Frederick John Shore, at

* 'Bombay Quarterly Review,' April, 1857. Lords' Reports, 1840—East India Company, pp. 91-2.

† See Note B, p. 256.

that time Judge of the Civil Court of Furrukhabad. Some of you are probably familiar with the letters. I can do no more than read to this assembly a passage or two from their concluding remarks:—

"More than seventeen years have elapsed since I first landed in this country; but on my arrival, and during a residence of about a year in Calcutta, I well recollect the quiet, comfortable, and settled conviction which in those days existed in the minds of the English population, of the blessings conferred on the natives of India by the establishment of the English rule. Our superiority to the native Governments which we had supplanted; the excellent system for the administration of justice which we had introduced; our moderation; our anxiety to benefit the people—in short, our virtues of every description—were descanted on as so many established truths, which it was heresy to controvert. Occasionally I remember to have heard some hints and assertions of a contrary nature from some one who had spent many years in the interior of the country; but the storm which was immediately raised and thundered on the head of the unfortunate individual who should presume to question the established creed was almost sufficient to appal the boldest.

"Like most other young men who had no opportunities of judging for themselves, it was but natural that I should imbibe the same notions; to which may be added the idea of the universal depravity of the people, which was derived from the same source. Being appointed to the Upper Provinces, shooting and other boyish recreations occupied so much time on the voyage up the river, that I had little leisure for observation or inquiry which could lead to any change of opinion; unfortunately, I imagined that nothing interesting or instructive could be gained from any communication with the people, and, like the generality of my countrymen, supposed even the most intelligent native to be inferior to an Englishman, though his education had been on the lowest possible scale.

"For a year or two longer I entertained similar sentiments, and possibly might have retained them to the end of my sojourn in India, had I continued my mode of life at that period; residing at a large English station, associating entirely among my countrymen, and holding no more communication with the people of the country than the actual demand of business required. But, fortunately for myself, I was sent to reside alone for some months at Bullundshin, an out-station, where I had little intercourse with Europeans, and where I was necessitated to have recourse to the opinions of respectable natives, from utter inability to form a judgment on many of the cases which were brought before me. In the mean time, for my own convenience, I had made some progress in the language, so that I was able to communicate with the people without the aid of an interpreter.

"From the intercourse which thus took place, I was enabled to perceive the errors and absurdities of my former notions, and soon discovered that, though the natives were of a different race and complexion from ourselves, there were among them men of respectability and worth; and that, with regard to their own country and concerns, many of them were very well informed. I also reflected on the expediency of not depending wholly upon such aid; that it was the duty of those in official situations to make themselves acquainted with the customs of the people; and on the very poor character a man would receive for intelligence if, on returning to England after many years' residence, he were unable to give any account of its affairs or of the people.

"I endeavoured, therefore, to acquire a more intimate acquaintance with the people, and becoming more familiar with their habits, thoughts, and opinions (which I soon found them willing enough to communicate), I perceived a strong feeling of disaffection towards the British Government, and a dislike to the English themselves as a nation, and, generally speaking, indeed, as individuals. This impression insinuated itself by degrees into my mind, which was naturally by no means disposed to receive it, all my previous conceptions having produced ideas and opinions quite of a contrary nature; still, it was so constantly forced upon my notice, directly or indirectly, that, in spite of myself, the conviction was irresistible.

"This being the case, an attempt to discover the reasons for such sentiments on the part of the native population was the natural result. Well-founded complaints of oppression and extortion, on the part of both Government and individuals, were innumerable. The question then was, why, with all our high professions, were not such evils redressed? This, however, I was assured was impossible under the existing system; and I was thus gradually led to an inquiry into the principles and practice of the British-Indian Administration. Proceeding in this, I soon found myself at no loss

to understand the feelings of the people both towards our Government and to ourselves. It would have been astonishing indeed had it been otherwise. *The fundamental principle of the English had been to make the whole Indian nation subservient, in every possible way, to the interests and benefits of themselves.* They have been taxed to the utmost limit; every successive province, as it has fallen into our possession, has been made a field for higher exaction; and it has always been our boast how greatly we have raised the revenue above that which the native rulers were able to extort. The Indians have been excluded from every honour, dignity, or office which the lowest Englishman could be prevailed upon to accept, while our public offices, and, as we are pleased to call them, courts of justice, have been sinks of every species of villany, fraud, chicane, oppression, and injustice; to such an extent, that men who have been robbed of their property, and whose relations have been murdered, will often pay large sums to the police to prevent investigation, from the dread of being compelled to attend one of our courts, even in the character of a prosecutor or witness."

* * * * *

"The summary is, that the British-Indian Government has been, practically, one of the most extortionate and oppressive that ever existed in India; one under which injustice has been, and may be committed, both by the Government and by individuals, provided the latter be rich to an almost unlimited extent, and under which redress from injury is almost unattainable; the consequence of which is, that we are abhorred by the people, who would hail with joy, and instantly join, the standard of any power whom they thought strong enough to occasion our downfall. Some acknowledge this, and observe that it is the unavoidable result of the imposition of a foreign yoke. That this is correct regarding a Government conducted on the principles which have hitherto actuated us is too lamentably true; but had the welfare of the people been our object, a very different course would have been adopted, and very different results would have followed; for, again and again I repeat it, there is nothing in the circumstance itself of our being foreigners of different colour and faith that should occasion the people to hate us. We may thank ourselves for having made their feelings towards us what they are."

Now such was the judgment upon our rule, Gentlemen, of one concerning whose competency to form an opinion there never has been, as I believe, a doubt. Mr. Shore was a member of the Bengal Civil Service, and he describes the effects of our rule on that side of India. I must trouble you with some further testimony, and I take it from the other side of India. Here, then, is a description of what our rule had brought Western India to about the same period, from the pen of Mr. Saville Marriott, one of the Commissioners of Revenue in the Deccan:—

"For many years past I have, in common with many others, painfully witnessed their decline [the people]; and more especially that part of the community which has emphatically been styled the 'sinews of the state'—the peasantry of India. It is not a single, but a combination of causes, which has produced this result. Some of these are, and have been from the beginning, obvious to those who have watched with attention the development of the principles of our rule in relation to such as have been superseded—become blended with our system—or are opposed to it in practical effect. Others are less apparent, and some complex; whilst another class of the decline may possibly be involved in obscurity.

"It is a startling, but too notorious a fact, that though loaded with a vastly greater absolute amount of taxation, and harassed by various severe acts of tyranny and oppression, yet the country was in a state of prosperity under the native rule, when compared with that into which it has fallen under the avowedly mild sway of British administration. Though, in stating the subject, I have used the expression 'a vastly greater absolute amount of taxation,' yet I would beg to be understood as being fully aware those terms must be treated in a qualified sense, since it is manifest that, relatively viewed, a smaller numerical amount of taxation may, with reference to the means of payment, be, in point of fact, more burdensome than a much larger where the resources are more adequate to the object. But, in the particular case in point, it is, I believe, ability which has diminished; and that, too, to many grades below the proportionate fall in the pecuniary amount of fiscal demand. To the pecuniary injurious result are also to be added the many unfavourable circumstances inseparable for a time from a foreign rule. In elucidation of the position that this country is verging to the lowest ebb of pauperism, I would adduce a fact pregnant

* 'Letters on Indian Affairs,' vol. ii., pp. 517-20.

with considerations of the most serious importance—namely, that of late years a large portion of the public revenue has been paid by encroachment upon the capital of the country, small though that capital is in itself. I allude to the property of the peasantry, which consists of personal ornaments of the precious metals and jewels, convertible, as occasions require, to profitable purposes, and accommodations in agricultural pursuits, most frequently in the shape of pawn, till the object has been attained. I feel certain that an examination would establish that a considerable share of this and other property, even to cattle and household utensils, has been for ever alienated from its proprietors to make good the public revenue. In addition to this lamentable evidence of poverty is another of equal force, to be seen in all parts of the country, in the numerous individuals of the above class of the community wandering about for the employment of hirelings, which they are glad to obtain even for the most scanty pittance. In short, almost everything forces the conviction that we have before us a narrowing progress to utter pauperism.*

Mr. Marriott's testimony seems to have been concurrent with that of every other officer of the State. Mr. Giberne, after an absence of fourteen years from Guzerat, returned to it, as judge, in 1840. "Everywhere," he told the Commons' Committee on Cotton Cultivation in 1848, he remarked deterioration, and—

"I did not see so many of the more wealthy classes of the natives. The aristocracy, when we first had the country, used to have their gay carts, horses, and attendants, and a great deal of finery about them, and there seemed to be an absence of all that. . . . The ryots all complained that they had had money once, but they had none now."

In a private letter, dated 1849, "written by a gentleman high in the Company's service," and quoted in a pamphlet published in 1851, the decay of Guzerat is thus described;—

"Many of the best families in the province, who were rich and well-to-do when we came into Guzerat in 1807, have now scarcely clothes to their backs. . . . Our demands in money on the talookdars are more than three times what they originally paid, without one single advantage gained on their parts. Parties from whom they have been compelled to borrow at ruinous rates of interest enforced their demands by attachment of their land and villages; thus they sink deeper and deeper in debt, without the chance of extricating themselves. What, then, must become of their rising families?"

Concerning Bengal, the 'Friend of India' wrote in 1853 as follows:—

"No one has ever attempted to contradict the fact, that the condition of the Bengal peasant is almost as wretched and degraded as it is possible to conceive; living in the most miserable hovel, scarcely fit for a dog-kennel, covered with tattered rags, and unable, in too many instances, to procure more than a single meal a-day for himself and family. The Bengal ryot knows nothing of the most ordinary comforts of life. We speak without exaggeration when we affirm that if the real condition of those who raise the harvest, which yields [a revenue of] between three and four millions a-year, was fully known, it would make the ears of every one who heard thereof to tingle."

Now, Sir, I wish this assembly to understand that instead of being exceptional, this testimony as to the condition of the people under our rule is but an epitome of universal opinion twenty-five years ago. Here are to be seen the legitimate and direct effects of that rule—a steady narrowing "progress to utter pauperism" in every province of the empire. And I say we owe the vast improvement of late years not to any radical changes of our administrative system, but to the good providence of God, that stepped in to avert the ruin our selfishness was working. I could detain you here till midnight, were it necessary, with testimony of the same order.* And I lay stress upon this fact, that I may administer a wholesome check to the dangerous conclusions into which Sir John Lawrence's correspondence with Sir Richard Temple and others are calculated to betray this country. Do not flatter yourselves that it is the enlightenment of our rule that has brought about the comparative prosperity which British India at this moment happily enjoys. The direct tendency of that rule is to pauperize the people, not to enrich them. We may sum up the chief advantages it can boast in the statement that under it the people are protected from foreign invasion and from civil war. He must be a bold man who will affirm that our administration of justice, police, revenue, or anything else in the country, *until very lately*, had in any respect whatever been equal to average native rule. Nor, Sir, may we plead that we were ignorant of the tendencies of our rule? Those tendencies were discerned very early in its history,

* See in particular 'Calcutta Review,' 1844, pp. 138-217. Also Mackay's 'Western India,' 1853.

and pressed with singular vigour upon the conscience of the country. Hardly had the Dewanee of Bengal come into our hands, than the nature of the Government we were setting up was fully exposed and its ruinous tendencies pointed out in the most forcible terms by Dow, Bolt, Burke, and others: and their gloomy anticipations were fulfilled to the letter.

Now, Sir, I was in India when the mutiny of ten years ago broke out, and I well remember the shock which it occasioned our national complacency. For the first few months the popular account of it was this—that we had been living in the midst of a race of tigers thirsting for our blood, and, not suspecting their nature, had conferred upon them a rule far too paternal and gentle for their nature. If I had time to do so, I could illustrate my statement by quotations from the periodical literature of the time, which would painfully surprise you. Our rule had been too good for the natives; henceforth we were to rule them with a rod of iron. A little later the belief was everywhere inculcated that our sufferings were but a Divine chastisement for our cowardly failure to confess our Christianity more openly before the people, and the Government was commanded to assert its faith, let it offend whom it might. With better insight into the true causes of that terrible rebellion, I ventured to suggest that our rule perhaps, after all, had not been quite so single-minded as we thought; and in the columns of the old 'Bombay Times' I gave the fullest and heartiest support to the policy of the late Lord Canning. You must not ask men like Mr. Marshman, remember, for its causes; they are too deeply implicated in the policy that produced it to be listened to with respect. I will tell you wherein the strength of that terrible movement lay. Our incessant exactions upon the Indian treasury had driven the Indian Government to its wits' end for resources. The Afghan war in particular, with its 40,000,000*l.* of outlay, had brought about that state of "chronic deficit" with which it has been the fashion of the English press until lately to reproach us. Well, as the resources of the Indian treasury failed, the Government began to cast its eyes upon the treasuries of the independent States of India, the territories of its native allies.* Every other consideration of good government was subordinated in those days to the increase of the revenues, and no man got any praise as a Government officer but the man who could squeeze the most money out of his charge. The result was that we came at last to be committed to a desperate struggle with the princes and private landholders of the country for their possessions. Upon one pretext or another every native State in the country was held liable to lapse to us; while an Act was deliberately passed in Southern India (the Act IX. of 1851) to create defects by law in all the private freeholds (Enams) of the country. I wish here, again, that I had time to establish this short but truthful summary of the causes of the rebellion by reference to authorities. I am speaking, however, within the hearing of gentlemen who know the truth of my statements. The mutiny was undoubtedly brought to a head by the greased cartridge, but the strength of the movement lay in the fact that the whole country was profoundly disaffected to our rule, and no wonder.

Now I suppose it will be admitted that the suppression of that rebellion was a matter of vital importance to this country, quite as much so as to the people of India. We are nearly all agreed as to its causes, and that it was we and not they who were to blame for it.

What then in equity can be more certain, than that the cost of suppressing the outbreak should be borne by those by whose misrule it was occasioned? Let it be well understood that there is no longer much controversy as to its causes. The English Government of the day was committed to a course of spoliation of high and low. On one pretext or another our treaties with the native princes of the country were violated, that we might seize their possessions; while Enam commissioners were sweeping, as with a besom, all the private freeholds of the country into the Government treasuries. It was impossible all this while, remember, to secure a hearing for any remonstrance that came from India. Every petition presented to either Lords or Commons† was treated as so much waste-paper; and when at last a rebellion occurred, we bound the whole cost of its suppression, 40,000,000*l.*, upon the shoulders of the

* See Campbell's 'India as it should be,' pp. 164-5. Murray: 1853.

† It is almost impossible to read without tears the appeal of the wretched Ranee of Jhanssee to the House of Lords to reverse Lord Dalhousie's decree for the annexation of her State. The appeal was never even noticed. What wonder that the unhappy, uneducated queen massacred the English within her reach in 1857! She subsequently fell, sword in hand against us, under the walls of Gwalior. Jhanssee was a model of administration at the time we seized it, and its annexation was an act of pure, unscrupulous greed.

people. But we reversed our policy, and signed judgment against ourselves for the debt in doing so. What had the loyal millions of such provinces as Madras, the Punjab, Scinde, Nagpoor, to do with that rebellion, that they are now to pay its cost; while we, by whose misrule it was brought about, refuse to touch the burden with one of our fingers? Is it thus that this Christian people should govern the poor dependency whose finances are in its hands as a trust?

Before I dismiss this subject, let me once more direct your attention to a fact concerning this period, which is nearly incredible. It happened that a large part of this debt of 40,000,000*l.* was incurred just at the time when we were under the panic of a French invasion here. There were no fewer than 100,000 troops in India at the period, the depôts of which, amounting to 22,000 men, were in this country. Now, all through that panic those depôts formed a most important part of our national defences; and our statesmen, and newspapers, comforted themselves with their presence here. Can you believe it possible, then, that the whole cost of their maintenance during that crisis was thrown—as the cost of these depôts ever is thrown—upon India, upon the pretext that the regiments to which they belonged were serving in India? Comment is, I think, unnecessary. The cost of our defence from the French Emperor was thrown upon the Indian ryot, and he is paying it to this day.

The suppression of the mutiny is generally estimated to have cost 40,000,000*l.* sterling, and I will tell you what one of our own leading statesmen said about it nearly ten years ago. "I think," said Mr. Bright, "that the 40,000,000*l.* which the revolt will cost is a grievous burden to place upon the people of India. It has come from the mismanagement of the Parliament and people of England. If every man had what was just, no doubt that 40,000,000*l.* would have to be paid out of the taxes levied upon the people of this country." That language is not mine, Gentlemen, but that of one of your foremost statesmen in Parliament, on the 8th March, 1859. It comes, therefore, to this—that, lacking the courage to face our own liabilities, we place them upon the shoulders of our dependencies.

Not content, moreover, with fastening this burden wrongfully upon India, we have refused even to put forth a finger to help them to sustain it. The English Parliament has ever done what it pleased with the revenues of India, and yet, while doing so, has repudiated all responsibility for the debt which has resulted from its exactions. Although the debt is strictly an English liability, no English Minister yet has had the courage to demand that this country should guarantee it. Selfishness, I have said, is blind, and eminently it is so in this case, for the interests of both countries demand that this guarantee shall be given, and yet no English Minister dare propose it to Parliament. The nearest approach which has ever been made to such a proposal was made by Lord Stanley some ten years ago, in the course of the East India Loan debate of 1859, in the following terms:—

"Let me now call attention to a topic which ought to be considered in connection with this subject—the position of the English Exchequer in regard to the Indian debt. I am aware the uniform policy of the Parliament and the Government of this country has been to decline all responsibility in regard to the debt of India, which has been held to be a great charge only on the Indian exchequer. Dealing with the present state of affairs, I may say at once that I am not going to recommend any change in that policy. I know well the alarm which any such proposition would create, and I know the refusal which it would inevitably receive. But this is a question which will recur again and again, and which will have to be considered in the future as well as in the present. Observing, then, that I do not speak with reference to practical action at present, I would ask the House seriously to consider how far, looking at the fact that more than 50,000,000*l.* has been contributed by English capitalists, it would be morally possible for this country altogether to repudiate the Indian debt without shaking its own credit? I would likewise ask the House to bear in mind that if ever the time should come when the established policy in this respect shall undergo a change, and when a national guarantee should be given for these liabilities, that guarantee would operate to reduce the interest paid upon the Indian debt by no less than 750,000*l.*, or even 1,000,000*l.*, which formed into a sinking fund would go far to pay off the whole."

Lord Stanley speaks in guarded language, but his meaning is clear; and were the morality of the House of Commons of a higher order than it is, no man can doubt that Lord Stanley would have proposed what he plainly felt it would have been wise and right to propose. In the same debate, Sir Charles Wood went the length of admitting "that we are in danger enough of being fixed with liability for Indian

charges," and added, "if we take away Indian revenue by Imperial legislation, we incur not merely a moral but a positive liability."

I have shown you how direct and immense such misappropriations have been—and Sir Charles Wood here signs judgment against this nation in the most explicit terms. The moral liability of this country for the Indian debt can admit of no doubt in the mind of any candid inquirer into the facts of its history, and certain is it that that debt cannot be repudiated by us but at the cost of the dissolution of the empire. It is now some years since the London *'Times'* admitted this fact in direct terms, and declared that the security of Indian stock, "if not backed by an Imperial contract, is so far based upon the Imperial sway of Great Britain, that it may be assumed to be safe so long as we have the power of maintaining our national existence."

"This question again," says Mr. Laing, "has often been discussed, and there are strong arguments why, when England and India are practically one concern (for the loss of our Indian empire cannot be contemplated without a convulsion which would shake the credit of England as well as India), it is extravagant to pay 5 per cent. for money which might be readily had at 3½ per cent. Still, I do not think that, practically, the time is ripe for a proposal to the House of Commons to increase the liability of England by upwards of 100,000,000!." In other words, the morality of the House of Commons is at present of too low an order to permit the hope of its acting justly towards its great dependency. It is impossible for me, in this paper, to discuss this question here at length, but I lay upon the table a memorandum upon the subject, which I venture to commend to the perusal of the members of this Association.*

Now this part of my subject leads to a very important remark. The views with which Lord Stanley and Sir Charles Wood alike regarded the Indian debt, instead of leading them to a courageous, statesmanlike, and honest appeal to the country to be just towards its great dependency, led to the sending out of the late Mr. Wilson formally to settle a financial policy so narrow and short-sighted as to be almost incredible. Having considerable misgivings as to the proper incidence of the debt already incurred in the name of India, and its ability to sustain it, it was now discovered that the right policy to redeem our position was to lay down the maxim that "India must not borrow" at all. While all other countries of the earth might borrow as freely as they pleased of English capitalists, even for war purposes, India, the poorest of them all, whose fortunes God had given into the hands of the wealthiest nation of the world, was to look to her taxes for the construction even of the roads and tanks, for want of which the people, by reason of famine, were perishing by millions.

I have the satisfaction of remembering that while the press of India and in this country fell down at once and worshipped the policy set forth under the great authority of Mr. Wilson's name, the *'Times of India'* dealt with that policy as it deserved. That was not the only blunder of the cut-and-dried policy with which Sir Charles Wood furnished the late Mr. Wilson on his voyage to India; but it was the most glaring and the most contemptible. I would speak of Mr. Wilson with the respect due to his great name, but in so far as India was concerned his mission was fraught with nothing but mischief. He came out with instructions to repudiate the idea that India might expect any assistance from the English nation. I well remember the Budget speech of 1860, in which we were told, in the first place, that it would not be for our interest to have the debt guaranteed by the mother-country; and in the second, that we should be above borrowing of any one, and proudly rely upon our own resources (the income-tax in his pocket) for the vast works of public improvement that were needed throughout the country. Well, the policy so inaugurated has been strictly followed almost down to this hour, although, happily, all belief in it is now exploded. During the eight years that have intervened since that period, a large amount (about 8,000,000!) of Indian debt has been extinguished out of Indian taxes; and in one painful way or another (by an income-tax in part) we have been made to spend five or six millions a-year upon roads and railroads, electric telegraphs, tanks and canals, while in this country it has been the height of financial wisdom to build even our fortifications out of loans! Was there ever perversity so deep? Because we have not had the courage to deal honestly with the old Indian debt, therefore India shall not be allowed to contract any fresh liability. If she wants roads or railroads, let her build them out of taxes. No matter that English capitalists would

* See Note C, p. 261.

gladly lend her what money she wants at 3½ per cent. or 4 per cent., we take the money out of the pockets of the people, where it is worth 15 per cent., in any way we can get it, that the growth of a large Indian debt may not make the Parliament of England nervous and uneasy. There is no Government on earth which may with such propriety borrow money for works of public improvement. We have been ready enough to allow India to borrow for the conduct of the wars our statesmen have forced upon her, that we might evade the cost; but to borrow for purposes that may rescue her own children from perishing by famine by the million, that is not to be heard of. The principle I have ever contended for is simply this, that public works of a reproductive nature should be constructed out of capital borrowed in the cheapest market, while the late Mr. Wilson laid it down as an axiom that "India must not borrow." In accordance with this principle a great effort has been made, year after year, to raise by taxation a surplus revenue of six or seven millions, to meet the urgent want of public works in the country. It has been a ruinous economic error. Surely it requires no elaborate proof that it is false economy to take money out of the pockets of a people, where it is worth 15 per cent. per annum, owing to the scarcity of capital amongst them, to invest it in public works, with indefinite loss in the transfer, when we may borrow for the purpose as much as we please at 4 or 5 per cent. in the English market. All other nations, as I have said, may borrow of English capitalists as much as they please: India alone is to be shut out from them, and forced to construct the vast works of public improvement for which she languishes, out of dribbles of savings from her annual income.

The conversion of governments is a slow process, and I must be allowed to give you an instance or two of the slowness of the State to apprehend the importance of the principle I insist upon. Take the mode of financing that has been followed in the construction of the new India Office and the new transport-ships. I am not raising the question whether India or England should have been made liable for these outlays, although I entertain a very strong opinion on the subject, but simply point out how ruinous is the mode in which the funds have been raised. In both cases the same course has been followed. The money (1,500,000*l.*) has been drawn from the Indian Treasury by means of the Secretary of State's drafts. In other words, while English capitalists would gladly have loaned the whole amount upon the security of the Indian revenues, the India Office has deliberately preferred to draw it from the Indian taxes. Such short-sightedness is really amazing. It is not enough that India is made to furnish the money with very doubtful propriety, but she is made to do so in the most oppressive form. While her people are perishing, as you know, by the million, of constantly recurring famine, that might be averted by judicious outlay upon public works, we take from their treasury half-a-million sterling to put up a palace over there in Downing-street, and a million more to build a magnificent transport fleet in our costly dockyards. What that million-and-a-half would have done for any district of India, if invested there instead, Sir Arthur Cotton has told us. If India *must* pay for the India Office, can we not let her sit as tenant at a rental of 4 or 5 per cent. upon the outlay? If she *must* pay for our great English fleet to carry troops backwards and forwards, is it too much to ask that we allow her to pay in a mode less ruinous to her than by the abstraction of the principal amount from her narrow resources? It is amazing how little insight Indian statesmen show into the conditions of India's welfare.

The Nemesis of selfishness, I say once more, is sure. We have selfishly shut India out of the benefits she might have derived from the resources of our capitalists, and the result is that we have seen simultaneously a million of our fellow-subjects perish of famine in Orissa, while the very resources we have withheld have been dissipated to the winds in the wildest and most demoralizing schemes for increasing them. A full and calm review of the financial relations of the two countries must leave a very unpleasant impression upon the mind of any person who is at all sensitive to the demands of justice, and the sanctions with which those demands are commonly enforced in this world in the history of nations. There is no country on the face of the earth whose responsibilities are so great, I believe, as our own. We have more light than other nations, and excuses which may be pleaded for them cannot be pleaded for ourselves. As a nation, moreover, we are the censors of mankind, and are never wearied of lifting up the standard of our own pretensions as the scale of other nations' attainments and duties. The time is fast arriving when we must rule our Indian empire justly, or see the end of all peaceful times therein. It is worse than useless to shut our eyes to the awakening of political life therein, evidenced by the strides its native press is making

in powerful and intelligent criticism of all parts of our administration. We have had read in this chamber already, during the short period of our existence, one or two remarkable papers from native gentlemen on the very subject which I have brought before you. As it is my own writings mainly that have given the impulse to native agitation on this subject, I am more concerned than I might otherwise be in its settlement. If I may be permitted to advise the native members of this Association as to their future attitude, it is that while thoroughly investigating the subject as patriotic men, and quietly doing their utmost to enlighten public opinion in England thereupon, they will leave its discussion mainly to Englishmen, that they may not awaken prejudices, and moderate their sense of the wrong which has been done, by frequently recalling the great moral and material benefits which India is now reaping from the existence of English rule therein.

Our great cynical philosopher, Carlyle, tells us that "there is something *DIVINE* in all might." Sir, I agree that there is; only let us beware of a philosophy which would suggest the fact as an apology for oppressing the feeble. The consideration is elevating and ennobling, if we are conscious of using our might for the good of others, in humble imitation of the *DIVINE* benevolence: but it is a belief to be abhorred when suggested as an apology for human selfishness, whether in our own behalf, or the behalf say of that "God-sent confederacy" of slaveholders whom the great philosopher was so much admiring the other day. There is but one end of such philosophies—such exhibitions of "Divine might" in this world—and the lesson has been recorded in letters of blood in both hemispheres within the last ten years for the warning and guidance of mankind.

I hold it to be impossible for any well-informed person upon the subject to be at ease concerning the character of our rule in India hitherto. That we have been less selfish, less exacting, than other nations would have been in our position (say our neighbours, the Dutch or the French), may be quite true; that we are fulfilling a very wonderful mission in India, and that its future welfare would seem to depend upon the maintenance of our rule therein, is also quite true; but these considerations, however important, are in no way sufficient to re-assure any awakened conscience.

I am coming to my conclusion, and I preface it with the remark that whatever we do as to the past, we shall never get right until, at all costs, we honestly examine the whole field of our *present* relations with India, but with a steadfast purpose to be just towards her *now*.

It is possible that the practical conclusion of my paper may seem to be somewhat illogical, when I state that I have no intention of recommending restitution for the past. The statement will possibly re-assure some of my hearers and disappoint others, but I may satisfy both, perhaps, of the propriety of the course which I shall take. In the first place, then, restitution is impossible. It is constantly our wisest course in this world to forget our wrongs; and instead of engaging in a hopeless and irritating struggle for redress, to concentrate our efforts upon securing ourselves against a repetition of the wrong. Moreover—and I cannot tell you how gladly I recommend this consideration to the careful regard of native gentlemen—the English Government would be entitled, I think, to plead a very important, if a very inadequate, set-off against any claim of restitution made on the grounds which I have gone over.

If our rule of India in the past has been marked—as I confess with shame it has—by incessant and unrighteous exactions from the resources of its people, it has, on the other hand, by a very singular chance, been the means of laying the Chinese empire under tribute to the people of India. I say nothing of the morality or otherwise of the opium trade, or of the guilt or innocence of those engaged in it. I simply point out that it is the British rule alone that has enabled the people of India to levy the weighty tribute they are annually obtaining from the Chinese, and which for some time past has amounted to 4,000,000*l.* or 5,000,000*l.* sterling a-year. Bringing, for political reasons, all the sea-board of India under our empire, we have been able to prevent the export of a single chest of opium to China until it paid a fine (or export duty) of 60*l.* to 100*l.* into the Indian exchequer. Thus, if the Home Charges of this country, on the one hand, drain the country of a heavy tribute, on the other hand it is our rule alone that has enabled India in turn to levy a heavy tribute upon China. For myself, I believe it is the opium revenue alone that has saved the country from absolute ruin under our continuous exactions therefrom.

I lay stress upon this consideration, because, while insisting without reserve upon the truth of the indictment I have presented against my country, it does seem to me wise to allow the opium revenue to be pleaded as a ground for closing past accounts.

That it is by a happy accident only that we have secured this important revenue to our Indian subjects, does not, I think, materially make against the plea. The wealth which is now pouring upon the shores of India (and has been pouring thereupon for many years) from this source may, I submit, be regarded as a compensation, however inadequate, for the exactions wrongfully made upon the Indian treasury; since nothing is more certain than that it is our rule alone that has made the levying of that tribute possible.

I present this fact to my native hearers with the greater confidence, that the temper of this country, as evidenced in its Press and in Parliament, has undergone so important a change since the mutiny, that the policy of the past is plainly doomed and near its end. In these circumstances it is fortunate, I think, that instead of advising our native fellow-subjects to agitate for restitution of the vast sums improperly drawn from India in the past, they may properly be advised frankly to accept the opium revenue, which India derives from our rule, in commutation of all claims upon us for our past conduct of her finances. That revenue has now, for several years past, reached the enormous sum of four to five millions sterling a-year; while it differs from all ordinary sources of revenue in this vital respect, that it forms a clear annual increment to the national wealth of India, just as the tribute we take from India is an annual increment to the national wealth of this country.

If, then, so far as the past is concerned, we take the one as a set-off, however inadequate, against the other, and direct all our attention to the future, I think we shall show more practical wisdom than by entering upon any considerations of the past with a view to restitution. My recommendation then is this: that, in reply to Mr. Gladstone's statements, we urge Parliament to ask for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole subject of the financial relations between the two countries, and that while establishing before that Commission the grievous injustice of those relations in the past, we confine our demands to an equitable revision of the HOME CHARGES now cast upon India with a view to relieve her of such part of them as it is inequitable to exact. One of the first conclusions of that Commission, I believe, would be, that the Indian debt, let the incidence of it remain where it might, should be converted, with all practicable speed, into CONSOLS. This reform alone would ease the Indian exchequer eventually by 1,500,000*l.* a-year, though India were still held responsible for the entire debt. I cannot persuade myself, however, that the Commission would so hold her, but that a very considerable proportion of that debt would be declared to be an Imperial and not an Indian liability at all.

Then, again, I think such a Commission would certainly insist upon the instant disappearance of the dividends upon East India Stock (630,000*l.* a-year) from the Home Charges. The exaction of that sum year by year in the past has been one of the most discreditable facts of our finance. Again, in view of the immense advantages which this country enjoys from the maintenance of British rule in India, the Commission would, I cannot doubt, insist that it may equitably be required to pay part of the cost of maintaining our empire there, instead of devolving the whole, as it now does, upon the people of India. My own views upon this point are coincident with those of Col. Wingate, and I cannot express them better than in his own words:—

"The Indian tribute, whether weighed in the scales of justice, or viewed in the light of our own true interest, will be found to be at variance with humanity, with common sense, and with the received maxims of economical science. It would be true wisdom, then, to provide for the future payment of such of the Home Charges of the Indian Government as really form a tribute out of the Imperial exchequer. These charges would probably be found to be the dividends on East India Stock; interest on Home Debt; the salaries of officers and establishments, and cost of buildings connected with the Home Department of the Indian Government; furlough, and retired pay to members of the Indian Military and Civil Services when at home; charges of all descriptions paid in this country connected with British troops serving in India, except for the purchase of stores to be sent to India, and a portion of the cost of transporting troops to and from India. In regard to the last item, it would seem to be a fair and most convenient arrangement for the British Government to pay the cost of chartering ships, &c., for the transport of troops to India, and for the Indian Government to bear the cost of sending them home again. In fine, the tribute is made up of such items of charge, connected with the Government of India, as are spent in this country, and for which India receives no material equivalent in any form. In defining the future financial relations of India and Great Britain, it would seem to be a most just and equitable arrangement to require each country to furnish that

portion of the total cost of government which is expended within its own limits and goes to the support of its own industry. Upon this principle, British troops actually serving in India would not have to be supported by this country, as in the case of the colonies, but would be paid by India, and only such officers and men of Indian regiments as might happen to be at home would be paid from the British exchequer.

"What appears to be most urgently required, in the present disastrous condition of the Indian finances, is the appointment of a Royal Commission of first-rate men, thoroughly competent to the investigation of economical, political, and moral questions, for the purpose of inquiring into the present financial relations of Great Britain and India, as compared with those of Great Britain and our other dependencies and colonies; and of ascertaining the various items of the Home Charges which may properly be viewed as a tribute paid by India to this country, as well as their total amount since the commencement to the present century, and to report upon the probable effect of this tribute on the condition of India, and the best means of adjusting the financial relations of India and Great Britain for the future, so as to secure the greatest amount of advantage to both countries."

I feel, Sir, that I have detained you too long, but the importance of my subject will, I trust, be allowed as an apology; the more so as I am about to proceed to India, and may not have another opportunity of stating my views before an English audience.

Adopting the words of Wingate once more, I implore my countrymen to abandon the base and selfish policy of drawing off the slowly accumulating resources of India "to pay charges in this country which, upon every principle of justice and economical science, ought to be borne by ourselves. Our true policy is not to impoverish India by the abstraction of any of its scanty capital" (whether for palaces in Downing Street, or any other purpose), but liberally to supply it with capital out of our abundance. Capital accumulates in this country far beyond our means of profitably employing it, and millions are, as you know, annually swept away and lost for ever in wild speculations or loans to bankrupt foreign states. Would it not be wiser to apply these accumulations in developing the resources of our great empire, which has 200 millions of people to bless and more than repay us, through an ever-enlarging commerce, for whatever assistance we can give them? It is for the British Parliament and public to consider and decide whether a just and generous policy shall control the future relations of the two countries, or whether the sordid and selfish suggestions of an ignorant timidity shall cramp and blight the interests of both lands, as in the past.

"The one policy is far-sighted, liberal, and just, worthy of the name and fame of our beloved country: the other, selfish and immoral, unworthy of us as a nation, and fatal to the realization of our lofty inspirations as a God-fearing and Christian people, hoping to be the means of evangelizing Southern Asia.

"Let the nation choose between them."

NOTE A.

THE HOME CHARGES, AND ANNUAL DRAIN UPON INDIA.

Few persons have any very clear notion of what the Home Charges really mean. The Home Charges are the liabilities of the Government of India which annually accrue in this country, and have to be paid for by a remittance from the Indian taxes. For the current year, 1867-68, the estimate of these liabilities is as follows:—

Home Charges, 1867-68.

DIVIDENDS, ON—

1. East India Stock	£629 970	
2. Debt owing in England	1,421,145	
		£2,051,115

CIVIL CHARGES—

Secretary of State's Establishment in Downing Street, &c., &c.	785,000
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MILITARY CHARGES—

Horse Guards' demands on account of English Army, in India, &c.	2,380,500
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MARINE PENSIONS (old Indian Marines)	54,000
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STORES (chiefly Military) sent to India	1,813,128
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£6,583,743

Now this sum has to be paid out of the Indian taxes, and in ordinary years the Secretary of State draws bills for their monthly amount upon the Government Treasuries in India at sixty days' sight. As these bills form the most eligible way of transmitting money to India, our East India merchants and Exchange Banks compete for them by tender, and the Secretary of State sells them to the highest bidder. It is in this way, in ordinary times, that the treasury of the India Office in Downing Street is provided with funds to meet these charges. In other words, the Secretary of State issues drafts upon the Indian taxes for the amount he requires in London, and the banks and East India houses cash the drafts for him at a greater or less discount according to the demand for them. The buyers of these drafts send them out to India, and with their proceeds purchase the produce of the country and ship it to Europe. It thus comes to pass that the exports from India must always be in excess of her imports, by the amount of these drawings. Unfortunately, this heavy drain upon the produce of the country is not the only one. All the chief executive officers of Government in India, all the officers of the English army, all the European planters of the country—in fine, every European in India, whether he derives his income from the State (the taxes) or from his own private enterprise—sends a very large proportion of it, year by year, and at last, upon retiring, his whole fortune, to Europe. Our rule is thus a giant system of absenteeism. The salaries paid out of the taxes, and the fortunes saved therefrom, or made in private enterprise by merchants or planters, are never spent upon the soil where they are earned, but are transported to another country as fast as they are realized. Now as all the chief civil and military appointments throughout the country are held by Englishmen who have families or family connections to be maintained in Europe, and whose customs and habits necessitate the expenditure of a large proportion of their incomes upon articles imported from Europe, we have here another very heavy drain upon the taxes of the country. There is thus not only the plain and palpable drain of the Home Charges to sustain, but a ceaseless, unseen stream of private remittances of savings and fortune to aggravate its pressure. The strong probability is that these remittances do not fall short at the present moment of five millions sterling a-year.

Of late years, moreover, some fifteen or twenty millions sterling of the debt subscribed in India has been purchased from the native holders thereof by European capitalists, so that in addition to the two millions of dividends paid through the HOME CHARGES, another million of interest upon Indian securities, which was formally spent annually within the country itself, is now spent in England.

Lastly, India, from the double misfortune of being at once a poor country, and a country governed by strangers, whose administration is not only very costly, but marked by all the evils of *absenteeism*, has been unable to construct her railway system out of indigenous capital, but has had to borrow three-fourths of it (70,000,000*l.*) at 5 per cent. interest.

The result is that she has now to remit 3,500,000*l.* of produce every year to this country as interest to her railway creditors. You will not suppose me to be complaining of this for a moment. I am simply explaining her economic position: you will see at a glance how greatly better her position would have been if she had had capital enough to build her railways out of her own resources; and she would have had it but for the Home Charges. And the general result of all this is—that whereas the total annual drain upon her resources thirty years ago was estimated at 5,000,000*l.* sterling a-year,* it is now not less than three times that amount, or 16,000,000*l.* a-year, thus:—

Home Charges	£6,500,000
Private remittances, &c. .. .	5,000,000
Interest upon debt in India held in Europe ..	1,000,000
Interest to railway creditors	3,500,000
	<hr/> £16,000,000

That is to say, before India can now import an ounce of silver, or ton of iron, or yard of piece goods, or pound of copper—all vital necessities to her—she must ship, year by year, 16,000,000*l.* of her produce to England, to meet our present standing claim upon her. Until this annually-recurring claim has been met, she cannot import a sixpennyworth of anything, let her necessities be what they may.

* Trevelyan's Evidence before the Lords' Committee, 1840.

Now these necessities are very urgent. Partly by the superiority of our machinery, and partly by a calculated and selfish policy in the past, we have utterly destroyed the manufactures of India, which were once so famous. She who once supplied the world with the wonderful produce of her looms, is now dependent upon us for her own clothing.

Our rule has effected a complete revolution—no doubt an unavoidable one—in her economic position. She has all but ceased to manufacture anything, and has become simply a grower of raw produce. But the more urgent does this make her case. Having no silver-mines of her own, and yet with a silver currency (ever contracting under wear and tear, and loss, and hoarding, and conversion into ornaments), *it is vital to her well-being that she should be able to import silver largely every year*, to maintain her currency intact, and to increase it according to the needs of her growing commerce. But, vital as silver is to her welfare, she must supply herself first with clothing (piece goods), and with the coarser metals, iron, &c. Look, then, at the full significance of the case.

Before she can get an ounce of silver she must pay us our annual claim of 16,000,000*l.* a-year, and then provide her 200 millions of people with clothing, however scanty, and then with the coarser metals to enable them to cultivate their fields at all. If, after these heavy drains upon her exports, there is yet a margin that she may invest in silver to replenish her wasting currency, happy is she! For the last two years that margin has disappeared; and she has entered once more upon that course of "narrowing pauperism" from which the providence of God alone rescued her in the past.

Now it is the considerations I have just stated that make an examination of the Home Charges of so much importance. If we can show that any of those charges are unjust and ought not to be borne by India at all, we are *pro tanto* putting it in her power to import just so much silver. Take, then, the first item in the list, the dividends on East India Stock and the debt contracted in London during the Mutiny, amounting between them to 2,000,000*l.* sterling. I hold in my conscience that the exaction of the first of these claims, 630,000*l.* a-year, was from the outset a shameless abuse of power, and that the claim ought to cease at once. As to the Mutiny Debt, again, and looking at all the circumstances of the case, it seems to me that imposing the *whole* of that debt upon India is a grievous wrong to the people of that country. With far greater justice might the *whole* burden be placed at our own door than at hers. When an unprovoked rebellion broke out in French Canada thirty years ago, and this country suppressed it, it did so wholly at its own cost. It did not venture to tax the disloyal and foreign Canadians for the cost of the war; but we do not hesitate to fasten the cost of suppressing the Indian rebellion upon our poor and loyal fellow-subjects in India, though the rebellion there had been provoked by unrighteous rule. Why this difference, I ask? The answer is prompted by every man's conscience in a moment—"We feared the Canadian, we have no fear of the Indian." How monstrous to make the very Punjab, whose gallant and loyal sons freely shed their blood to suppress the rebellion begotten of a century of our misrule (1857, to the year, was the centenary of Plassey), now also pay the *money* cost of it. The Punjaubees don't know that we are doing so; and we are not too proud to take advantage of their ignorance.

Take the next item in the account—the Civil Charges of the India Office. To go through the several items of which the charge consists would exhaust your patience. Suffice it to say that it includes not only the salary of every man in the building, from Sir Stafford Northcote down to the porters, but 190,000*l.* for the construction of the building itself, and those *commercial annuities*, of which I have told you already, all taken out of Indian taxes.

Then there is the next item, 2,380,000*l.* for the annual demands of the Horse Guards. Here we find 638,000*l.* to begin with, for what are called the home depôts of troops serving in India. In point of fact these depôts constitute, to a considerable extent, the effective garrison of this country; but because the regiments to which the depôts belong are in India, she is made to maintain them, although the economic ruin which such exactions make upon a poor country like India is patent to everyone. Again, in this list you will find nearly 400,000*l.* for the new fleet of transports being built in our dockyards, which fleet is a most important addition to the maritime power of this country. Then, again, there are vast sums for pensions and retiring allowances, and I know not what else. I must beg you to remember once more that this is not the case of an expenditure of *taxes spent within the country in which those taxes are raised*. These exactions, if necessary and just throughout, are still ruinous to India. If they are in any respect unjust, how cruel is the wrong! Well, we ask for inquiry into them all before an impartial tribunal.

NOTE B.

THE NORMAL DEFICIT OF INDIA, AND ABNORMAL FLOW OF BULLION THITHERTO.

The Press and Parliament of England have been constantly commenting for years upon what they call the *normal* condition of Indian finance (chronic deficit), and the *abnormal* flow of bullion to the East. But the normal condition of Indian finance is not one of deficit. There has been no deficit in the Indian revenue for many years, but, on the other hand, a very large annual surplus. The Indian balance-sheet is presented to the world year after year in a shape so arbitrary and unprecedented that it would seem to be the purpose of English financiers utterly to destroy the credit of the Indian Government. "India must not borrow:" that is the summary of all financial wisdom in our management of her finances. And so those great public works which in other lands are constructed out of loans, the people of India are forced to construct out of income-taxes, taxes on produce, and I know not what else. Even her very railways has India been forced to construct very largely out of taxes. The popular belief in England is, that the railways of India have been constructed wholly out of English capital. The fact is, that 25 per cent. of the outlay has come from the Indian exchequer. The Indian Treasury has advanced down to the present time nearly 20,000,000*l.* for guaranteed interest during the construction of the works, cost of land, exchange, supervision, &c. Instead of only 70,000,000*l.* sterling (the subscribed capital), the Indian railway system, down to the close of 1867, had cost about 90,000,000*l.* In the same way an immense expenditure has been made upon the electric telegraphs of the country, roads, tanks, canals, &c.; while the whole has been jumbled together in one huge item, year after year, and treated as a *normal* charge upon the Indian revenue. What wonder that there has been an apparent deficit. The truth is, it depends purely upon the caprice of the Finance Minister of the moment whether the Indian balance-sheet shall show a deficit of one million or twenty; and one of the first reforms demanded in Indian finance is the instant and total separation of the public works' expenditure from the annual balance-sheet of the empire.

So with reference to what is called "the abnormal flow of bullion to the East," that flow is the most normal thing in the world. It is the *suspension* of the flow which is abnormal, and which wrought such ruin to the country during the first eighty years of our rule.

A steady supply of the precious metals is as necessary to India as to Europe, and even more necessary, because her currency is purely metallic and she has neither gold nor silver mines within her own territories. She has been called "the sink of the precious metals" from Pliny downwards; but it has been forgotten that she is the *natural* sink of them. Being more distant from the sources of supply than Europe, the gold and silver which she receives comes to her laden with the expenses of a long transport, and it is thus impossible for her ever to export that silver back to Europe but at a heavy loss. The prosperity or decline of India may always be gauged with accuracy by merely looking into the returns of her imports and exports of bullion. The population supplied with bullion through the import gates of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Kutch, is not less than 200,000,000. Now if we leave China out of the account (and it is necessary to do so, because she supplies herself with silver from her own mines), India plainly ought to be able to import year by year about one-fourth of the total production of the gold and silver mines of the world as her constant share thereof. In view of her currency requirements, the hoarding propensities of her people, and the national custom of wearing silver ornaments on the person, we might reasonably expect that she would absorb *more* than one-fourth of the annual supply. Now what have her importations really been since the commencement of our empire, in 1757?

We find, then, that from the year 1757 down to the year 1780, *there was a total suspension of all imports of silver whatever.*

Wholly dependent upon the bullion supply she had ever been drawing from Europe in exchange for the manufactures and produce carried away by the English, Dutch, and French, she suddenly found the whole of those exports swallowed up by the exigencies, or the greed, of her new masters and the cruel rapacity of their servants. With a wasting and ever-narrowing currency, our rule was simply garrotting her. The discreditable fact is that we did not do this ignorantly. The 'Ninth Report of 1783,' Dow in his 'Introduction,' and the very servants of the Company themselves,

point out the ruin that was being wrought in terms so vigorous and clear, that it is amazing they received so little attention. The 'Commons Report' declared that the Company had set up "a species of trade, if such it may be called, by which it is impossible that India should not be radically and irretrievably ruined;" that it was "a system that sacrificed the *being* of that country to the *advantage* of this." Dow showed at length that we had not merely stopped all flow of specie into the country from Europe, but that the Company had caused a direct export of 5 millions sterling silver within ten years of acquiring the Dewanees.*

Let it be remembered that this ruinous process of depletion fell upon a country whose resources had already been exhausted by the years of anarchy which preceded our rule, when Mogul and Mahratta armies, year by year, desolated its provinces. So prostrate had the country become by the year 1780 that "one-third of it became jungle."† From 1781 to 1800 the total net imports of bullion averaged next to nothing, and from 1757 down to the year 1817, a period of sixty years, during which her importations of bullion ought to have been 120,000,000*l.* to 150,000,000*l.* sterling, they did not amount to one-fifth of that sum—in other words, not to half-a-million sterling a-year.

I have now brought the account down to the year 1817-18, and I must ask your attention to a somewhat close review of the returns of the intervening half-century, which, for a purpose to be explained presently, I divide into two periods, of thirty years and twenty years respectively.

The year 1817-18 witnessed the overthrow of the Peishwa, and, with the annexation of his dominions, the virtual formation of the Western (or Bombay) Presidency. India was at this time slowly recovering from the state of "metallic exhaustion" which I have just described, and was beginning to import bullion freely. At this crisis we annexed the vast empire of the Peishwa, and at once imposed our system of demanding the land revenue *in money* upon his territory, where, under his rule, it had ever been taken *in kind*. In a country already suffering severely from an unnaturally restricted currency we made this important change, without an inkling of the ruin it must work. We threw ten times the amount of work upon the Mahratta currency which it had ever before been called upon to do, and, as the natural result, a terrific fall ensued in the value of all produce together. The staple products of the land were simply coarse food grains. Observe the course of prices:—

Average prices of *Bajeres* and *Jowaree*—1817 to 1849.

	<i>Bajeres.</i>	<i>Jowaree.</i>
1817 to 1822 . .	17 seers . .	20 seers per rupee.
1837 „ 1845 . .	28 „ . .	34 „ „
1847 „ 1849 . .	35 „ . .	42 „ „

Thus, in the first thirty years of our rule in the Deccan, the Mahratta assessment of one-fourth had amounted up to "a rack-rent of half" the produce, of which there has been so much said in this country without any understanding of its real cause. Its cause was not the nature of the land tenures, but that our growing exactions as foreign rulers prevented that import of silver which was vital to the people's well-being. Coincident with this terrible fall in the value of the staple products of the country, a still heavier fall took place, unfortunately, in the value of that one article of export which Western India grew—I mean cotton. Look at these figures:—

Prices of *Indian Cotton* at *Liverpool*—1816 to 1845.

1816 . .	14 <i>d.</i>	1835 . .	9 <i>d.</i>
1820 . .	10 <i>d.</i>	1840 . .	5 <i>d.</i>
1825 . .	10 <i>d.</i>	1845 . .	3½ <i>d.</i>

The result of this heavy fall, and of our growing Home Charges, was that with a demand for silver increasing in urgency every year, the import of bullion, which had risen as high as 3,800,000*l.* a-year during the five years which preceded the fall of the Peishwa, began once more steadily to contract, and the empire, as a consequence, to enter upon thirty long, gloomy years of gradual deterioration and suffering. The period of deepest depression was, if I am not mistaken, about the year 1847, the year in which I myself arrived in the country, to be shocked with the curses of my old

* Page 83.

† Earl of Minto.

friend "the fakir," for that we had drained all the silver of the country out of it. The man simply described the common talk of the bazaars, that somehow or other silver had disappeared under the *raj* of "Company Bahadoor."

We now stand upon the threshold of the revolution. From the year 1847 upwards, the imports of bullion became steady and immense. Look at the figures:—

Net Imports of Bullion. All India.

	Average.
1844-5 to 1848-9	£1,750,000 a-year.
1849-50 „ 1854-5	3,950,000 „
<i>Russian War—</i>	
1855-6 to 1856-7	11,980,000 „
<i>The Mutiny, and Total Suspension of the Home Charges—</i>	
1857-8 to 1860-1	15,000,000 „
<i>The American War—</i>	
1861-2 to 1865-6	20,000,000 „
<i>Close of the American War and Resumption of the Home Charges—</i>	
1866-7	nil „

Upon the right interpretation of these figures depends the whole future of India. I have said that the wonderful revolution which has taken place in that country since the year 1847, its unprecedented material prosperity has been brought about solely by the good Providence of God, and not by any statesmanship of ours; and I repeat the statement here. Wonderful as is the age in which we live, I know nothing so wonderful therein as the transformation of India within twenty years, from a country stricken down to the very dust by adversity, into the India of the present day, wealthy and prosperous beyond what the wildest imagination of man could have supposed possible twenty years ago. The people have already got this proverb amongst them: "Under the *raj* of our own princes," say they, "our pots were all of copper; under the Company's *raj* they all became earth; under the Queen's *raj* they are all silver."

What have been the causes of this vast, this stupendous change? I venture to affirm that they lie upon the very surface of the figures I have given you, when the inquirer understands well the history of his times. The revolution, then, is due to two facts: in the *first* place, to the enormous expansion that has taken place since 1847 in the Indian exports; and in the *second*, to the fact that for the last sixteen years we have virtually suspended the *Home Charges* altogether, having met the drain by loans in London, as I will presently explain.

The period of deepest depression in India was, I have said, about the year 1847. In that year the gold-fields of California were discovered; a little later those of Australia. At this moment the opium export of India began to assume its modern proportions, cotton to recover its value in the European markets, and a demand for new articles of Indian produce (silks, hemp, jute, wool) to reveal itself in the progress of the Crimean War. I must trouble you to look once more at some figures. You remember that the price of cotton had gradually fallen from 14d. a-pound in 1817 down to 3d. in 1845. Mark now the change:—

Prices of Indian Cotton in Liverpool.

1845	Average per pound	3d.
1847 to 1849 .. ..	.. ..	4d.
1850 „ 1855 .. ..	.. ..	4½d.
1856 „ 1860 .. ..	.. ..	5d.

In 1861 the American War broke out, and you are all familiar with the prices that have ruled since:—

1862	Average price (Surats)	11½d.
1863 .. ..	.. ..	13½d.
1864 .. ..	.. ..	16½d.
1865 .. ..	.. ..	14½d.
1866 .. ..	.. ..	12d.
1867 .. ..	.. ..	8d. or 9d.
1868 .. ..	.. ..	6d. to 7d.

Wearying as figures are, I must still ask you to look at the statistics of the opium trade, summarized into periods of five years:—

Opium Exports. All India.

	Average per year.
1837-8 to 1841-2	£1,547,000
<i>The Modern Period.</i>	
1847-8 to 1851-2	£3,840,000
1852-3 „ 1855-6	4,943,000
1856-7 „ 1860-1	5,700,000
1861-2 „ 1865-6	7,100,000

At this last figure the amount still stands; and to this enormous expansion of the exports of India is the happy revolution which has taken place in that country since 1847 primarily attributable. The soil that for a century had sickened under the exactions or the exigencies of foreign rule, drank in the life-giving torrent of silver which now poured upon it, while the world ignorantly wondered what became of it all. The fact was that two hundred millions of people languishing and dying for the want of it, drank it up as the thirsty desert drinks in the rain. The total net imports of bullion during the two periods I have reviewed were as follows:—

Net Imports of Bullion. All India.

1819 to 1849 (thirty years)	£56,830,000
1849 „ 1866 (eighteen years)	203,500,000
	<hr/> £260,330,000

I must be allowed to digress here for a few moments, that I may recur to the unreasonable talk of “the abnormal flow of bullion to India.” I affirmed, at the outset, that a flow of bullion to India was the normal condition of things, and its suspension unnatural and indicative of mortal sickness in the country. She has absorbed, you observe, 260,000,000*l.* of bullion in the last fifty years. Well, what was the world's production during those fifty years, and what was India's fair share of that production? It is estimated, then, that the annual production of bullion during the thirty years ending in 1848 was 12,000,000*l.* sterling a-year, always excluding China from the account, as she stands outside the rest of the world in this trade. Since 1848, that is, during the last twenty years, the production is estimated to have been about 50,000,000*l.* a-year. To sum up, then, the total production was—

1819 to 1848	£360,000,000
1848 „ 1867	1,000,000,000
	<hr/> £1,360,000,000

Now, as I have explained, the condition of India is such, and her population so enormous, that *normally* she ought to carry off year by year a fourth of the total bullion yield of the world. In other words, she ought to have absorbed 340,000,000*l.* sterling of bullion since 1819, instead of 260,000,000*l.*, and certainly would have done so but for the Home Charges. Moreover, exhausted as the country was by the first half-century of our rule, there were enormous arrears due to her, while she has not been able to absorb her fair share within 80,000,000*l.*

But what if it should turn out that this so much talked-of import of two hundred millions of bullion is in large measure a delusion? Startling as the suggestion may seem, it is a fact that from these two hundred millions of bullion, we must strike off just one-half, thus reducing her nett imports since 1819 to little over one-tenth of the world's production. For *India is owing at this moment for one-half her bullion imports of the last twenty years.* In other words, she has received 100,000,000*l.* of that import simply upon credit, as a loan, and has to return every rupee of it. Those imports have been possible simply because the Secretary of State for India has been borrowing upon her credit during the period 100,000,000*l.* sterling in London. You will remember that I attributed the present prosperity of the country, in the first place, to the enormous growth of the export trade; and in the second, to the suspension of the Home Charges. Well, the Home Charges have virtually been suspended for the last eighteen years,

and in this way. The *fiction* has been that the capital subscribed in England for the Indian railways was remitted to India. The *fact* is that not a shilling of the money paid by the railway companies into the India Office has ever been remitted to India. It has been retained there to pay the Home Charges every year, while the treasury in India has advanced every rupee that has been sunk in the works. It thus happens that though every sixpence of railway outlay in India has come from its taxes, the railways have still to be paid for. Instead of borrowing the money in London openly and avowedly to meet the Home Charges, the money has been professedly borrowed for making railways; while it has been used to defray the Home Charges, and the Indian Government has constructed the railways out of the Indian taxes.

During the mutiny, moreover, the India Office, without any disguise, suspended all effort to realize the Home Charges by drafts upon India, and borrowed 40,000,000*l.* sterling in London to defray them from 1857 to 1861. From these two causes, then, India is to-day one hundred millions deeper in debt than she was twenty years ago. The claim for these arrears of Home Charges is now being presented in the shape of the Secretary of State's drafts month by month upon the Indian treasuries; and his drafts would be nearly double their present amount, were it not that he is still receiving large sums of money from the various railway companies, who have not yet paid up the full amount subscribed by them.

The present position of India, therefore, is one which must excite the deepest concern in her friends. The ground that has been gained is in danger of being lost. The annual drain upon her resources, which twenty years ago was only 5,000,000*l.*, has now mounted up to 18,000,000*l.*, the drain being moderated, however, at present by the amount still paid year by year by the railway companies into the Treasury in Downing Street. When that ceases, the drain will set in with full force upon her; and the question is, Can she stand up under it? The American war is at an end, and cotton rapidly finding its old prices. The opium trade rests on too uncertain a foundation to be confidently calculated upon; and if it should ever disappear, I do not hesitate to avow my conviction that India will sink under this enormous drain upon her. Already, as you have seen, she has lost the power to take one ounce of silver since the close of the American war, although the Home Charges have been largely defrayed out of railway capital. How will it be when she has to pay the whole, and sees cotton down to 5*d.* per lb.? She ought now to be importing ten or twelve millions sterling of bullion every year. She is importing none—and why? Let the 'Statesman's Year-book of 1868,' just published, tell you:—

Commerce of some principal Countries.

	Value of total Imports.	Value of total Exports.
Great Britain and Ireland ..	£295,000,000 ..	£239,000,000
Netherlands	36,000,000 ..	30,000,000
Spain	17,000,000 ..	12,000,000
Italy	39,000,000 ..	28,000,000
Canada	16,000,000 ..	13,000,000
New South Wales	10,000,000 ..	8,000,000
New Zealand	6,000,000 ..	3,500,000
China	45,000,000 ..	34,000,000
India	50,000,000 ..	70,000,000

Do you see the unhappy exception which India presents? Every country but herself in the list imports far more than it exports. Look at the yawning gulf in her imports: such is the penalty she pays, Gentlemen, for an absentee rule.

The wonderful prosperity of India of late years is directly traceable to the circumstances I have described: 1. The growth of the export trade. 2. The suspension of the Home Charges. The export trade has received a tremendous blow in the fall of cotton, and at this juncture we are resuming our demand for the Home Charges with arrears. The result is seen at once in the total stoppage of all bullion imports into the country. I have shown you what that means; and it is in these serious circumstances that Mr. Gladstone tells us—India is not paying enough, and must be made to pay more.

NOTE C.

THE IMPERIAL GUARANTEE.

A recent Parliamentary return gives the following particulars of the debt due by India, on the 31st December, 1866, for money borrowed in London by the Secretary of State for India:—

East India Bonds	£4,720,917
East India Debentures	4,988,000
India 5 per Cent. Stock	16,870,100
India 4 per Cent. Stock	2,441,000
Owing for Stores, &c.	824,692
	<hr/>
	£29,853,709

To this amount must be added the sum of 6,000,000*l.*, being the capital stock of the old East India Company, bearing interest at the rate of 10½ per cent. per annum. The debt in India at the same date (31st December, 1866) was as follows:—

	Rs.
3½ per Cent. Loan	8,08,700
4	31,25,80,671
4½	87,12,100
5	18,59,97,800
5½	10,67,85,300
Treasury Notes	1,84,55,540
Loans, Service Funds, &c.	9,79,72,859
	<hr/>
	72,63,12,970
Deposits and Miscellaneous Liabilities not bearing interest	12,73,71,410
	<hr/>
	Rs. 85,36,84,380

The total interest bearing debt of the country on the 1st January, 1867, was thus as follows:—

In London	£29,029,017
East India Stock	6,000,000
In India (at par)	72,631,297
	<hr/>
	£107,660,314

The average interest upon this debt is somewhat above 5 per cent. per annum.

So high a price ought to imply an object of corresponding value. In this case what is it? To avoid pledging the national honour for the debts of India, say our financiers. But is it to be for one moment supposed that England, which expended sixty millions in propping up the Turkish Empire, will ever resign her own greatest dependency without a still more costly struggle? Would not fifty, or a hundred, millions rather be expended on a war, than saved by submitting to be despoiled by any other power of "the brightest jewel" in her Crown of Empire? But if fifty or a hundred millions would and must, in an emergency, be spent on this object, then is England already pledged to that full extent to the retention of India. Nor only so; each year of her dominion sees an increasing portion of her wealth invested in that country; every year the Indian trade becomes a larger percentage on her total commerce. To say that she is pecuniarily interested in India, at this moment, to the extent of 500,000,000*l.* sterling, would be no exaggeration. To resign India, therefore, would be to inflict on a portion of the British community a loss equivalent to a repudiation of 60 per cent. of the national debt, without the counterbalancing advantage of relieving the tax-payers in the same proportion. Those who hold this interest of 500,000,000*l.*, more or less in India, are amongst the most energetic and influential of the British community. Would they listen to any proposal for abandoning India? Would it be possible to overcome their resistance to such a project, and the popular opposition they could bring to bear against such a design?

England, therefore, is pledged to retain India; so deeply and irrevocably pledged, that she can abandon it only with her national existence. This is no case in which

Colonists may, as they gain strength and wealth, throw off their allegiance to the mother-country without further sacrifice than the cost of an ineffectual war. The loss of India means the loss of every fraction of English capital invested in railways, plantations, and commerce, as well as in the public debt. But holding India thus for good or evil, must we not make it pay? Is an Indian national bankruptcy under English rule, much more conceivable than a national bankruptcy at home? It is simply inconceivable. Whoever goes unpaid, or under-paid; whatever remains undone; English rulers must first meet the demands of the public creditor. If they do not, they will speedily be changed by the public who regard a Government engagement as an absolute certainty. By increasing the resources, or the taxation of India, its public debt must be defrayed. Increased taxation carries disaffection in its train, and enfeebles the springs of industry, on which all progress depends. It should be reserved for emergencies; it should not be squandered in bidding against the English Government in the loan market, or in depressing beforehand the borrowing power on which the English Government depends for the means of meeting any great emergency. Much less should it be employed in giving India every year an increased interest in throwing off the foreign yoke.

But if England *must* retain India, if she *must* make it pay, if she *must not* increase taxation, what remains? She must increase its resources. One million-and-a-half a-year may be gained by her guarantee of the Indian debt. Such a sum spent on reproductive works would afford an annual return which, employed as a sinking fund, would purchase up every fraction of the debt in twenty-five years. Does England expect to hold India for one generation more? Would she resign it for the few millions extra of Consols into which the 100 millions of Indian debt might be converted? If she would not; if she is confident of holding India for at least one generation longer; is it not the part of prudence as well as of generosity, to incur a nominal risk for that period, which will secure her against all risk, on the same account, for all future time? A nominal risk, I term it; for to whom is the Indian debt due? Very largely to English creditors, who would suffer two-fifths more by a failure of the Indian Government, than the English tax-payer could suffer by an Imperial guarantee. In either case it is the English community which must suffer, the only difference is in the designation of those who directly bear the burden.

Take, however, the extreme case of India's being lost by an incompetence on the part of its rulers, equal to that which refuses to see the conditions of its profitable retention; and assume that the loss has, by some miracle, been made compatible with England's continued existence as an independent nation. What in such a case would be the effect of a guarantee? The English community at large would have to make good to those members of it who had previously drawn their annuities from the Indian revenue, a sum of about three millions a-year. This would be a severe addition to the burden of the English tax-payer; but it represents the extreme amount of his risk. By applying the interest saved by conversion to the redemption of the stock, the risk would diminish from year to year. By applying the profits of the conversion to works of irrigation, and the profits of the latter to the extinction of the debt, this would diminish still more rapidly; while new and inexhaustible fields would simultaneously be opened up to British enterprise. What, on the other hand, would be the effect of the loss of India *without* any Imperial guarantee of the Indian debt? Five millions, instead of three, per annum would be due to the holders of Indian securities. The English tax-payer would not be called upon to make good any portion of the loss. It would fall wholly upon the fund-holders. But those fund-holders are themselves but a portion of the whole British community. The only difference would be that in the one case the three millions, by being distributed amongst the whole population, though burdensome, would still be no intolerable burden, while in the other the loss, falling in the first instance upon a few thousand individuals, would reduce them to utter misery; and that in the end the effects of their insolvency would be shared, in one form or another, by every member of the society.

It appears, therefore, that in the most unfavourable case that can be supposed, England as a nation has positively nothing to gain, but much to lose, by refusing that guarantee on which the development of India's resources so largely depends. The very simplicity of the demonstration may cause some to regard it with suspicion; for, they will argue, if the matter is so plain, how can it have escaped the notice, or failed to reach the convictions, of statesmen who have been Chancellors of the

Exchequer, and what not? But history teaches us that the simplest truths, however convincingly demonstrated, may remain for generations unrecognized, even in the country of Adam Smith; and that in a popular assembly like the House of Commons, words count for a vast deal too much with men who will not be at the trouble of examining their true significance. Yet we may surely claim that the effort should be made; that the refusal of a guarantee should be shown to be utterly futile, a source of loss, and no means of safety. It would then rest with the conscience of Parliament to sanction or reject this great means of India's welfare.

Selfishness has tinged with a dark line the whole course of our transactions with India, and dictated the cry of "self-dependence" with which Mr. Wilson was sent to mock its people, while at the same time they are deprived of all effective control of their monetary affairs, and are handed over to the arbitrary sway of a Cabinet Minister dependent for his place upon the caprices of a few hundred ignorant electors. By the refusal of England to guarantee the Indian debt, a sum of one million and a-half sterling a-year is absolutely wasted as if it were cast into the sea.

It is a trite remark, however, how often selfishness outwits itself. The high rate of interest which the want of an Imperial guarantee forces the Indian Government to offer, has drawn a large amount of English capital into Indian securities. The natives of India would make haste to rid themselves of what securities they still held, on the eve of any convulsion, and the close of a struggle which should deprive us of India, would also leave the whole Indian debt due to English fund-holders. Even as the case stands, an enormous portion of the Indian debt is in the hands of English holders, so that, in the event of a national bankruptcy, the greater portion of the loss would fall upon the English community. Whether in such a case the English holders of Indian securities could prevail upon the House of Commons to assume the payment of their dividends as a national responsibility, may admit of question. This much only is certain, that such a responsibility, assumed at the eleventh hour, would involve a needless and enormous loss, while its entire repudiation would inflict a fatal blow on English credit, costing more in the long run than even the other alternative.

Many years ago, the 'Times of India' predicted, as one of the financial certainties of the future, a gradual approximation in the price of Indian securities to that point at which an equal investment would produce an equal return in them as in Consols. The process on which the journal calculated as the means of bringing about this result, long since commenced. The Court of Chancery, forsaking Consols, has been investing its trust funds in Indian Stock for years past. This example has been gradually followed by all the trustees of large funds in the kingdom. "Enlightened self-interest," as was repeatedly pointed out, enables investors to pierce through the pretence of non-responsibility so loudly proclaimed by English financiers, to perceive that every addition to the national debt of India is an addition to the ties which bind the country to England, and therefore an addition to an *Imperial Guarantee*, as effective and certain as if it were ostentatiously proclaimed upon every bourse in Europe. What binds England to the retention of India, apart from considerations of national prestige, is the extent of the interest held by English citizens in that country. That interest increases, and must increase, every day. The national debt of India is a portion of that interest, but a portion whose ratio to the whole constantly diminishes; and England can throw up her practical responsibility for the Indian debt only with her hold on the country, and at the sacrifice of all the capital invested in it. This she will not, because she cannot, do under any circumstances consistent with her own solvency; and the guarantee of both funds being practically the same, capital will forsake that which affords the smaller, for that which offers the larger, return.

The improvident principle upon which the last Indian loans were raised in this country did not escape remark, even from Englishmen. An old and highly respected banker in the north of England criticized those arrangements at the time as follows:—

"Sir Charles Wood and Mr. Gladstone, in borrowing money in the British market last year for the use of India, offered five per cent. for it, and gave to the lenders the same facilities for receiving their dividends as those possessed by the holders of the Three per Cent. Consols. If these gentlemen had wished to depreciate the value of Three per Cent. Consols, and thus to prevent any future Chancellor of the Exchequer from borrowing money at that rate, they could scarcely have devised a more effectual method for accomplishing their object. It is true that these Indian loans are professedly borrowed on Indian securities; but if those securities be not unquestionably good, those who are entrusted with the custody of the national credit

of Great Britain ought not to have given their sanction to them at all, for it would be a woful day to British credit if our national rulers were to attempt to repudiate these Indian loans on the plea that the Indian revenue was inadequate to pay the interest upon them; and if they are perfectly safe, then our financial ministers, by giving them the proper benefit of British credit, might have obtained the money at or near three per cent., and by so doing have upheld the value of Consols, and greatly economized the national expenditure.*

No one, of course, asks England to guarantee the Indian debt as it stands. Such a proposal would betray a want of businesslike sagacity no less remarkable than the short-sightedness of the policy at present in favour. To guarantee the hundred millions of Indian debt would be to place that sum on the footing of Consols, and thus make a present of some forty millions to the Indian stock-holders. Such an arrangement is out of the question; and if the conversion is to be simply from Indian to English perpetual annuities, it should, of course, be made at the price of the day. If Indian Five per Cent. Stock stands at par, while Three per Cents. are at 90, the effect of an unconditional guarantee would be to raise the former to 150, and to impoverish either India or England by the whole amount of the difference. If the Indian fund-holder wishes for a better security, he must be content to accept a rate of interest lower, in the proportion of 100 to 150, since for an annuity of 5*l.* guaranteed by England, as in Consols, the public is willing to pay the latter sum, while the same annuity, guaranteed but by India, commands only the former. Any such conversion must, of course, be at the option of the fund-holders; and a moment's reflection will show the needless difficulties that have been incurred by the pottering and timid policy which refused a guarantee and its advantages in the first instance.

CHAIRMAN.—Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to some of the arguments and inferences of Mr. Knight, I am sure there can be no difference of opinion at all as to the extreme value and importance of the paper which has just been read to us. But it is that very consideration, the value and importance of the paper, that makes me hesitate as to the propriety of inviting discussion upon it at present. In the first place, it seems to me that an incomplete discussion would be unfair to Mr. Knight and unsatisfactory to the Association, whilst a complete discussion is really impossible at the present time. I would propose, therefore, if the meeting is of the same opinion, that we should wait till we have this most important paper in print before us, when the different members of the Association who take an interest in the subject (and I am sure that all of you must take a very great interest in it) will be able to inform themselves, not only of those portions which he has read, but of those also essential to the argument, which time has not allowed him to read; and then when we meet again, having in the meantime fully digested the very important matters brought before us, we should be in a proper position to go into a dispassionate discussion of all the different subjects upon which Mr. Knight has touched. If the meeting is of that opinion, I would propose to adjourn the discussion to a future occasion; but if you think that any good can be obtained by a mere cursory discussion on such points as we remember at present, of course I am very willing to continue in the chair. Unless some opinion is offered to the contrary, I would propose to adjourn the meeting; but I shall be very happy to hear any observations upon that proposition.

General JACOB.—I think a few cursory remarks thrown out now, on mere first impressions, might be of advantage in the after-consideration of the subject. I think that those who attend at the full consideration which you very properly propose to give at the adjourned meeting might perhaps derive some information from any little observation that some of those thoroughly acquainted with the subject might make briefly, and without the intention or attempt to criticize the whole paper.

CHAIRMAN.—My own opinion, I confess, is that it would be better to adjourn the discussion, because the matter is of very great importance. I do not think that it would be fair to-night to pick out any isolated passages, and to fix a criticism upon such passages. It seems to me that the whole paper ought to be dealt with as a general subject—one part of it being taken in connection with the other; and I think it would not be satisfactory either to ourselves or to Mr. Knight that we should merely make a few cursory observations on detached portions of it.—(Hear, hear.)

General JACOB.—I was a little selfish in proposing what I did, because it is twenty

* 'Mystery of Money Explained,' p. 232.

chances to one that I shall not be able to attend at the adjourned meeting, and I certainly should not be able to come if it was an evening meeting.

CHAIRMAN.—I trust that we should be able so to arrange that the same gentlemen who have been present to-day should meet again for the purpose of discussing the subject of the paper.

MR. CHISHOLM ANSTEE.—I rise for the purpose of making a suggestion, not to the author of this very learned and very able paper, but to the meeting. I think that my gallant friend, whom I am glad to see is well enough to be present here to-day, is quite right in the suggestion he has made; and I think I see a way to meet his views, and at the same time to carry into effect what I think is the very wise advice we have had from the Chair. I would therefore throw out for the consideration of the meeting, and if Mr. Knight will allow me to say so, for his consideration, whether or not the adjournment being determined on, it would not be as well for him, or some other gentleman who takes an interest in this question, to propose for the consideration of the meeting, which will meet again after the adjournment, and after this valuable paper has been printed, and circulated, and read, a few Resolutions embodying the points which form the subject, I do not know whether of the concluding portion of the paper, but of the concluding portion of so much of the paper as was read to us. In that way, and those Resolutions being in some way or other circulated for general information, we shall be able to arrive at the result which General Legrand Jacob hopes to accomplish, that is, we shall see the points on which we agree and those upon which we differ. I do not, for my own part, anticipate much difference of opinion upon any one of the points, for Mr. Knight's proposals are certainly characterized by very considerable moderation. That is my opinion; some gentlemen may think he goes too far: I certainly think that if he has erred, he has erred on the side of moderation. I do not imagine, as far as his proposals go, there can be any difference of opinion; but if there should be any difference of opinion with regard to his suggestions, it would be just as well that every gentleman, whether present or absent, should have an opportunity of knowing what is coming before us, and knowing that he is going to be called upon, to agree with or condemn by his vote the propositions in question. Therefore I suggest that that should be done; and I recollect that that was very much what we resolved in this assembly last year, when Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji read a paper on the estimates for the Abyssinian war, which gave rise to the recommendation that we should not proceed to protest against the expenditure; but rather that we ought to consider the whole question at a distant day, and that in the meantime Resolutions should be proposed for our adoption. The recommendation to wait came from myself, and therefore I have a lively recollection of the facts of the statement I am now making. If we now adjourn, I think that before we meet again to consider the subject that should be done which it was agreed should be done last November. I further suggest that in preparing this paper for the press, Mr. Knight would have the kindness to make it as complete as possible, by not only giving the references which he has, but by adding such references as may illustrate those which he has already given, and though my information is of course not to be compared to his own on a question of this kind, I may throw out for his guidance a suggestion which may not be without its profit. Mr. Saville Marriot's pamphlet or book to which he referred, I think he said was published about 1836. But Mr. Marriot's pamphlet or book was afterwards embodied by himself in the shape of some very valuable evidence, given in 1849, I think, before a committee appointed in 1848, on a motion of my friend Mr. Bright, to inquire into the causes which had obstructed the progress of cotton cultivation in India. Mr. Saville Marriot was examined before that committee, and subjected to a very searching and a very intelligent cross-examination on the part of the Chairman of the Court of Directors, Sir John Weir Hogg, and a number of other officials, and he not only re-stated every one of his former statements, but illustrated and confirmed them by most valuable facts, and gave in brief a history of the process by which, according to him, those terrible results in the Dalkan had been arrived at. I remember perfectly well that he stated that the process was simply this. When the Mussulmans came in they added an army-tax to the 10 per cent. levied by the Hindu Raj; they were driven out by the Portuguese, who put on an additional tax, but not enough to turn the land-tax into a rack-rent; they were driven out by the Mahrattas, under whose rule *chaut* was added to all the other exactions, and we came as liberators and drove out the Mahrattas, but instead of restoring the 10 per cent. which existed under the Hindu Raj, we added a land-tax, which turned rent, *chaut*, and all, into a rack-rent, and a rack-rent of a very high order.

General JACOB.—I do not see how we can propose any Resolutions till we have heard what is to be said on the subject.

Mr. CRUSHOLM ANSTEE.—It is not suggested that we should draw up Resolutions now, but that notice should be given of them.

CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Knight, to whom I have spoken on the subject, is quite prepared to draw up a memorandum of Resolutions based upon the paper he has read. The effect of that would be that it would condense all this information which we have received into direct and tangible questions, which we could more readily and conveniently discuss. The mere draft of those Resolutions will not pledge the meeting to the adoption of them. Each Resolution will form a subject of discussion, and it will be for the meeting to adopt it or not. If it is the opinion of the meeting that we should now adjourn, I must consult with the Secretary as to the most convenient day for the adjournment.

After some discussion about the day of adjournment and printing the paper immediately for circulation,

Mr. KNIGHT said, I can meet the difficulty with reference to the publication of this paper, because I intend to produce it myself in a pamphlet shape, and I shall be very happy indeed to send a copy of it to every member of the Association.

CHAIRMAN.—I propose to adjourn the discussion to such day in this month as the Managing Committee may decide on, of which due notice will be given.

General JACOB.—I second that. I take it to be understood that Mr. Knight will be kind enough to draw up the Resolutions.

CHAIRMAN.—Yes, Mr. Knight has undertaken to do so. The proposition of the Chairman was adopted.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Knight for his paper.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was also passed.

MEETING, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1, 1868.

Adjourned discussion on the Paper read by R. KNIGHT, Esq., on March 3.

GENERAL BRIGGS IN THE CHAIR.

THE CHAIRMAN read the following letter from Major-General G. Legrand Jacob:—

To the Sec. E. I. Association.

SIR,—I regret exceedingly my inability to attend the meeting, on Wednesday, owing to severe illness that confines me to my room.

I was anxious to support Mr. Knight's Resolutions, and to move, second, or join in a vote of thanks to him for his very able paper. I was also anxious to take the opportunity of entering my protest against the decisions of a late meeting of our body on the expenses of the Abyssinian war, which I was glad to find Mr. Knight does not concur in.

I think that meeting entirely overlooked how much the interests of India are involved in the respect paid to the British flag, and to the rights of all the subjects of Her Majesty on the other side of the Isthmus of Suez. Indian traders are scattered along the south coast of Arabia, the east coast of Africa, and some in the Red Sea, whilst thousands of Indian pilgrims annually visit the shrine of their Prophet. Not one of these individuals but would incur extra risk to life and property were we to permit any one owing allegiance to the Crown of England to be maltreated with impunity. In the present case we have servants of the Government of India officially sent to the Abyssinian king, imprisoned, manacled, or in fetters from mere wanton caprice; and it appears to me that our Government has acted generously towards India in charging her nothing for the costs of the war, beyond the payment to her troops which must have been made in India had they not left it.

Troops are periodically collected in India, sometimes at considerable expense, for exercise and instruction in the art of war, but such assemblies are as nothing compared with the higher instruction that the Abyssinian force is now receiving, and when all is over it will return to India far better worth its cost than when it left.

By protesting against the decision of Government on this subject, the East India Association seems to me to be imitating the cry of the shepherd in the fable, at the risk of a deaf ear being turned to us when seeking aid against the fierce wolves so clearly pointed to by Mr. Knight.

I hope the Chairman will allow this letter to be read to the meeting, and that it may be taken as my speech, for I attended the last meeting at personal risk, hoping to state my opinions, but was prevented owing to the postponement of the discussion on Mr. Knight's paper.

I am, yours faithfully,

G. LEGRAND JACOB.

22, SUSSEX GARDENS, HYDE PARK.

March 30, 1868.

MR. KNIGHT.—I have to express my regret that so much delay has occurred in placing my paper before you. The delay is attributable to two circumstances: Mr. Chisholm Anstey, as you may remember, suggested (that was a most reasonable suggestion) at the last meeting, that I should give the authorities upon which the statements in my paper rested. The trouble of hunting out those authorities of course was very great, and the delay arising therefrom was of course unavoidable. The other circumstance preventing my circulating my paper so early as I could have wished, has been a pressure of private engagements (I being about to leave this country for India), which I could not postpone till the completion of my paper. I trust, however, that the paper has been long enough in the hands of members to enable them to form an opinion upon the propriety, or otherwise, of the Resolutions which I have based thereon, and notice of which the Secretary has, I believe, communicated to the Association. The Resolutions are as follows:—

1. "That in view of the recent discussions in Parliament concerning our financial relations with India, this Association cannot but fear that the true history and nature of those relations are very imperfectly understood by English statesmen, and that exact inquiry would show that the conduct of those relations on the part of this country has too often been marked by great want of consideration for the people of India."
2. "That in view of the severe check to its material prosperity which India has sustained since the close of the American war, as evidenced by its trade returns, and of the excessive amount to which the annual drain upon its resources has grown under our rule of late years, it is very important, in the opinion of this Association, that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the economic condition of that country and the whole subject of our financial relations therewith."
3. "That a deputation from this Association be appointed to wait upon the Secretary of State for India with these Resolutions."

The Association will probably have observed, that the Resolutions are simply a concise and moderate expression of opinion, that the facts which I have sought to establish in my paper are more or less true; at all events that the Association cannot divest itself of the fear that they are sufficiently established to warrant the Association in asking for the appointment of a Royal Commission. The facts which the Resolutions affirm in general terms are, first, that recent Parliamentary debates upon Indian finance impress the Association with the belief that the subject is very imperfectly understood by English statesmen. I do not think that there will be much difference of opinion amongst us upon that point; for it is observable that even Mr. Gladstone himself, while expressing views strongly adverse to those which I have maintained, admits by implication the propriety and the need of instituting an exact inquiry into the subject. "If my hon. friend," said Mr. Gladstone, "shall think fit to move for an inquiry, or if the Government should think fit to propose an inquiry, I am very disposed to believe it might be useful." These words contain a tacit admission that English statesmen are imperfectly acquainted with the subject under discussion; and I simply invite the Association to adopt Mr. Gladstone's views thus far, and to give open expression to them. I go further however, and in view of the history I have given of our financial relations with India, I ask this Association to express its fear, that "the conduct on the part of this country has too often been marked by great want of consideration for the people of India." Without wishing for a moment to forestall discussion, or discredit any

opposition to my views, I must here also say that I shall be very much surprised if any serious opposition is raised to this statement, for, putting my paper altogether on one side and dismissing it from view, it is impossible in the nature of things, considering how those relations have ever been conducted, that they should have been marked by anything else. I confess that I have purposely worded my first Resolution so that it may commend your unanimous adoption. It is impossible, I say, in the nature of things, that the tax-payers of this country, having unlimited and irresponsible control of the revenues of that, and having at the same time the most intimate and costly relations with the tax-payers of India, should have used their power with a due consideration for them. All that we can differ upon here must be the extent to which the want of consideration has gone. I ask you to affirm that, "too often," there has been not only want of consideration, but "great want of it." That you may affirm this truthfully I am sure. I will go further, and say that no one can truthfully deny it, and that were I expressing simply my own conviction upon the subject, it would require far stronger language to express adequately my sense of the wrong that has been done. Emphasis, however, too often weakens the cause it is designed to serve; and if this Association will but adopt the language of what I may call "philosophic" censure, I shall be content. I do not, I confess, see how it is possible, consistently with respect for truth, to reject, and, by implication, to deny the terms of the first Resolution. The second Resolution simply asks for a Royal Commission for two purposes and on two grounds. The grounds on which the Commission is asked for are: first, "The severe check to its material prosperity which India has sustained since the close of the American war, as evidenced by the trade returns;" and, second, "The excessive amount to which the annual drain upon its resources has grown of late years under our rule." Each ground is a mere statement of fact, and as I could say nothing in elucidation of either fact without repeating the substance of what I have already said in Note B of my paper, I content myself with recommending the Resolution to you simply for the purposes which a Royal Commission may be made to serve. The Resolution proposes, then, that the Commission should inquire into "the economic condition" of India, and into "the whole subject of our financial relations therewith." An inquiry into "the economic condition" of India is so closely connected with the question of its financial relations with this country, that it would be impossible to separate the one from the other. Let me illustrate this. You have no doubt divined that you may almost resolve the mischief which our rule at first wrought in India into a mere question of the currency. Our rule garrotted the country by an ever-narrowing currency. Now at this moment the economic condition of India may, I am persuaded, be indefinitely improved, and the pressure of the Home Charges indefinitely lightened, by a mere change in the currency-laws of India. We have had, as you know, an abortive paper currency there for some years. Well, I am convinced that if a well-devised paper currency, with notes of a very low denomination, were introduced into India, we could virtually suspend for the next twenty years the exaction of the Home Charges altogether. This is not the time to enter upon so important a subject, but I mention it to justify my asking you for a Commission to inquire into "the economic condition" of the country. Again, there is the question of a gold currency for India, indefinitely hung up under the autocratic fiat of Lord Halifax. Now I am reasonably sure we ought to have a gold currency in India, and by that I mean a gold standard instead of a silver one. India is still the sink of the precious metals; but since the discovery of the gold-fields of Australia she has ceased to be the natural sink of them. Our statesmen will not look the revolution which has occurred in the face, although the people of India, years ago, were circulating gold ingots amongst themselves as currency, in spite of the legislative folly that ties the country to a cumbrous silver medium. At this moment India, instead of being the sink of the precious metals, ought to be a sort of halfway-house in their transit, importing and exporting bullion just as England or France does. Now economists tell us that if we can get our money cheaper than before, we shall get everything else cheaper too. Well, India ought now to be getting bullion quite as cheaply as this country; while under prohibitive legislative acts affecting the currency she cannot. The authority of Sir Charles Wood has been for years the great obstacle to currency improvements in India, and we want a Royal Commission, amongst other things, to upset Lord Halifax upon this point. On the subject of our financial arrangements with India, one of the first questions that such a Commission would consider would be that of an "Imperial Guarantee" of the Indian Debt. Looking at all the circumstances

out of which the debt has arisen, I cannot doubt that the Commission would unanimously recommend the conversion of the Indian Debt with all practicable speed into Consols, whatever it might do as to altering the incidence of any part thereof. Again, I cannot doubt that it would give the *coup de grâce* to the monstrous doctrine that "India must not borrow," and set the Government right for all time to come upon that important point. The question, too, of the mode in which railway capital is being raised for India is one that would receive its close attention. I doubt much whether a full inquiry would not establish the conviction that we might raise that capital in a more economic way. As to the Home Charges proper, my hope is that, for the first time in the history of our relations with India, we should arrive, by means of this Commission, at some definite and equitable principle by which the financial relations of the two countries should in future be controlled. All this discussion and these complaints about the Home Charges resolve themselves into a question of principle, and it is of the last importance to both countries that the question should be argued out. A superficial writer in the last number of the 'North British Review' has unwittingly done something to help us to a solution by the selfishness with which he portrays vulgar English sentiment upon the question. It has ever seemed to me that the cost of maintaining English supremacy in India should be apportioned between the two countries upon a fair and comprehensive review of the benefits which each country derives therefrom: in particular, that such part of the cost thereof as arises in this country and necessitates our drawing upon the Indian taxes to defray it, should be very scrupulously inquired into. You have seen from my paper the material cost at which India has bought the doubtful blessings of our rule in the past. But to get an idea of the whole penalty she pays for that rule is very difficult. For a century there has been the exclusion of her own children from every administrative post of importance in the country; and the mind must be of an essentially coarse and selfish type that fails to see this at a glance. The exclusion of the people from all the higher offices of the State carries with it a sense of inferiority, destructive to their self-respect and cruelly demoralizing; and when to this is added the remembrance that at the best our administration of justice is defective in the extreme, and must ever be so, from our want of insight into native life and character, and defective sympathy therewith, the cost at which the advantages of our rule, however great, are purchased, will be seen to be very large. Let it be clearly understood then, that, however important the advantages which India may be deriving from our rule, she is paying a heavy cost for them, moral as well as material; while we, who derive nothing but immense moral and material advantages therefrom, and suffer no penalty or loss of any kind thereby, refuse to contribute anything whatever to the cost of our supremacy. Well, is that just? Is it right that we should derive the advantages we do therefrom, and contribute nothing to the material cost thereof? I cannot think it is; and it seems to me that one of the great advantages we may hope for from this Commission will be the enunciation of some clear principle for our guidance in this matter. If it be right and just that the Indian revenues should bear the whole cost of maintaining our rule, the question of expediency will still remain for discussion. Expedient I am sure it is not, nor can I think it either right or just. Although India is subject to us, we are bound to deal with her as scrupulously as though she treated with us upon a footing of equality; indeed a spirit of true magnanimity would suggest a yet more scrupulous treatment of her, because she is wholly at our mercy. The mischievous falsehood which lies at the root of all our financial relations with India, and which has tainted them all, is the assumption that England rules India from pure good will to her people; that we had no interest in the acquisition of empire therein, or in retaining it, and therefore ought not to pay anything towards its maintenance. I contend, on the other hand, that the advantages of empire for the first eighty years of our rule were all but exclusively our own; that we are still deriving enormous advantages therefrom, and that the only just principle upon which the cost of our supremacy can be apportioned between the two countries, is upon a careful, candid, and frank estimate of the advantages each country respectively derives therefrom. The notion is engrained which such writers as the essayist in the 'North British Review,' that the favour of ruling India at all is quite sufficient return for the advantages we derive therefrom. That for the advantages which accrue to us from that rule we should pay anything, is an idea that belongs to a purer morality than such writers have attained. Indeed they are impatient of being reminded of those advantages at all, and profess to regard the recruiting of our Indian army with 5000 or 6000 men a-year, as a grievance of great magnitude; although, under our military

system, a soldier goes into the army, or emigrates to become a Fenian in America, from calculations of the purest self-interest. The ranks of the European army in India are simply a field for surplus British labour, just as much as the profession of the law there. And yet nothing is more common than to hear impertinent rubbish about the sacrifice we make in this respect for the good of India! Hitherto there has been no principle to guide us in this question of cost; we have simply abandoned ourselves to the selfish instinct of avoiding all contribution thereto ourselves. Now and again of late we have had in the English press symptoms of a purer spirit. Thus, in the course of the discussion raised some two or three years ago in this country by Mr. Goldwin Smith, as to the advantages derived by England from her colonies, one of the leading journals of the country, the 'Economist,' told us that the proportion in which each party should contribute towards the cost of defending these possessions should be determined, amongst other considerations, by "the respective interest which each has in maintaining the connection," and "the respective capacity of the two parties." Let us now apply these considerations to the case of India. The first is—The respective interest which each party has in maintaining the connection. Now as England does not contribute anything to the defence of India, she has either no interest in maintaining the connection, or she is unjustly evading her share of the cost. There is no escape from the alternative, if the 'Economist' be right; and that it is right, no honest man, I think, can doubt. If we were asked, for instance, to state the reasons why England maintains so large an army in India, I suppose the answer must be somewhat as follows:—1. For the maintenance of good order and quiet in the country. 2. For repelling outward aggressions upon the people. 3. For the maintenance of our monopoly of the chief administrative posts therein. 4. For the safety of our millions sunk there. 5. For the control of all the commercial relations of India with other countries. 6. For the supremacy of England throughout the East. 7. For the national *prestige*. Can any candid person review this answer—and I believe it is a strictly correct one—and yet contend that vast as are the interests we thus have in that Indian army, we ought not to be called upon to defray any part of its cost, but are justified in even casting the cost of the Home depôts upon India? Why not? But upon some such notion as that conquest gives us the right to exact from India the payment of the whole. If we turn to the other consideration, which the 'Economist' says should guide us, namely, "the respective capacity of the two parties," we must admit at once that as England is the wealthiest of all countries, and India amongst the poorest, judgment must be pronounced against the course we are following without hesitation. Now, if we can get a Commission to lay down some such clear and definite principle as we have here, the last reproach of English rule in India will be wiped away from it, and we may then challenge the judgment of the world upon our conduct, and humbly appeal to the Great Judge himself for approval of our conduct of the trust He has committed to us.

MR. PHILE.—I rise in support of the Resolutions which Mr. Knight has introduced. I imagine that the facts which he has laid before us are incontrovertible; but I think the same distinction should be drawn as we draw in the case of Ireland, between the wrongs in past times, which we deplore, and administrative defects, which we are all now willing and ready to correct. The noble Lord, the Member for Taunton, told the House of Commons last Friday, that the just comparison to draw is between British rule as it now exists and the Native Government as it existed before we entered upon the government of India. Whether that is a just comparison is very much open to question, but at any rate we should have a very easy triumph in instituting such a comparison as that—a very easy triumph and a very useless triumph, because it would not satisfy the natives that we now rule in India, I imagine. The real comparison that ought to be made appears to me to be between the degrees of social progress which can be attained by British rulers and by native rulers, under the same general conditions of peace and toleration. I suppose it would be possible—I do not imagine it would be impossible—for England to retain the supreme power in India for the preservation of peace and the carrying on of war, and for India at the same time to be portioned out into a large number of confederate states, governed by native institutions; and what I should like to be able to show would be this, that the British rule as it now exists is superior in every point to such a form of government as that. I think if we cannot show that, we cannot show anything worth showing at all. It seems to me that in making a comparison of that kind, we stand at this very great disadvantage at starting. If India must be ruled by a European power for some

time to come, and it may be conceded that she must be so ruled, then she must make up her mind to send yearly a very large sum out of India to meet the services performed for her by that European power. India cannot expect that the European officers who go out to India and spend the best years of their life in her service, will consent to forego the right of returning to the land of their birth to enjoy their pensions, and spend the savings which they have acquired in her service; nor can she expect, I suppose, that the English statesmen and the English clerks who are engaged upon her affairs in England shall be paid out of the English exchequer, because any charge of that kind would really be a charge upon the English tax-payer, and we should then have the English tax-payer calling out against taking tribute out of his pocket to send to India. I do not suppose that to be a very likely contingency; but it might possibly occur. That is a great disadvantage which we are under, that a large sum must be sent yearly from India to England to pay for the services performed on behalf of India. We all know the difference between the proceeds of taxation spent in a country, and the proceeds of taxation sent abroad. The one is like vapour drawn up into the clouds and returned in the shape of fertilizing showers into the bosom of the land; while the other is like drops that fall into a river, which are carried away to mix with the distant sea. That is a disadvantage which we have to make up for in our comparison with native rules as they now exist, and I think if we cannot make up that disadvantage at starting, our rule must necessarily be a failure. It seems to me that there are two ways of making up this disadvantage. The first is, to reduce the drain to a minimum—I would say on that subject there is obviously a minimum below which you cannot reduce it—and it does not matter whether England is the European ruler, assuming that there must be a European ruler—it does not matter whether that European ruler is England or France, or any other European power, India would be no better off under any one of those than any other, as far as that is concerned; and the second is, to counteract or compensate for the evil effects of this yearly drain. There are some compensative measures about which there can be no question at all, advantages which we have conferred upon India. Among those are a free press, which they do not enjoy in France; free-trade, which is not at present enjoyed in America; an annual surplus, which is not enjoyed by Russia, France, Italy, Austria, Spain, and other countries; light taxation, lighter than is common in European states; perfect religious toleration, and, I think, not among the least, a satisfactory arrangement between landlord and tenant, not enjoyed in Ireland.

Mr. BONNERJEE.—It is not enjoyed in India.

Mr. PEILE.—Certainly, I admit it is not throughout India, but in parts of India it is. I am quite ready to insist that it is enjoyed in the Bombay Presidency, with which I am acquainted. I now come to a second class of advantages which may be said to have been partly but not completely conferred. The intention was benevolent, but the practical execution was not so successful as it might have been. The first among those is our judicature. I will only say upon that subject, at any rate, we have given them a perfectly honest Bench. It is not very long ago that England did not possess the benefit of a perfectly honest Bench. I think also, it ought to be noticed that in the Mofussil, at any rate, the present want is not so much in the Bench as in the Bar. It is not expected that an English judge should be perfectly familiar with the local customs prevailing in the places to which he goes on circuit, that is supplied by the Bar; and if there were a competent Bar, that want of active sympathy between the Bench and the Bar and all the rest of it, of which we hear so much, would be very largely met. The next benefit of the class to which I refer is the Legislature. We have heard a great deal of the evils of over-legislation—but the *machinery* of legislation is not too cumbrous or superfluous. I am quite certain if we obtain that decentralization of our financial management which we all hope to obtain, the number of Legislative Councils in India will not be one too many. As to the charge of superfluous legislation, take the instance of the Cotton Frauds Act, which Lord William Hay quoted in the House of Commons last Friday, as being an Act passed in the interests of the rich merchants of England; the real object of that Act was to enable Indian cotton to hold its place in the markets of England. I cannot conceive a subject of more vital importance to the natives of India than that at present. Let me refer to one more fact, with respect to legislation—that is, that very many of our codes have been adopted by native states. Our criminal procedure and criminal code have been adopted by them voluntarily without any compulsion on our part. Then there is a third point in which

we have not done all that we hope to do, *viz.* the opening of office to natives. It cannot be said that office is entirely closed to natives. In my own service in India, I know of one native gentleman who got into the service some years ago, and who no doubt will rise to higher offices under the Government in the course of time. I suppose we may look forward to more being done in that way than has been done hitherto. This is perfectly obvious, that every office in India which a native can be found as competent to fill as a European, is a deduction of one pension and one fortune, the result of savings, from the remittance which India has to make to England, and so far a benefit. Then I come to a third class of matters Mr. Knight most pertinently brought before us, a class of matters to which he thinks, and with considerable justice, that we have not given any consideration at all. I think the want of consideration is probably from the matters not having been prominently brought forward for many years; when they are brought forward, as I hope they will be, attention will no doubt be given to them. Those are financial matters in the widest sense of the term, and those are the very points in which we obviously compete with the native governments as now existing in India with disadvantage. We are under a difficulty at starting, and have to make up for the disadvantage under which we start in the race. The question really seems to me to be whether our rule pays. I do not mean pays England, but pays India. There are many conditions essential to the social progress of a nation: one is justice, security to person and property; another is a good educational system, but one condition which underlies all that is such a measure of material prosperity as shall enable the people of that country to avail themselves of the other advantages offered to them. That is what we have to provide. Mr. Knight has shown us that though the taxes are not remarkably heavy, yet the operation of our system is to contract the currency of India, and in that respect we certainly have diverged from native precedent upon the subject. It was so also in the five years during which we ruled the Island of Java; the same result was produced there, and not only so but we handed on our difficulty to the Dutch, and the only merit in the culture system of Java is that it has tended, indirectly perhaps, to relieve the strain on the currency. We were told by Mr. Knight that that pressure on the currency is relieved for the present, and he suggested several ways in which, I hope, it may be removed in future, and not perhaps recur, *viz.* the extension of a guarantee to the Indian debt, which no doubt would cause an influx of capital, and the introduction of a small-note currency, which would be a very useful thing; and other things that might be done also. At the time when the joint-stock mania first began to gather strength, I fancy India was one of the most available fields for joint-stock enterprise that you could find anywhere. In every household there would be 100 or 200 rupees buried or hidden in the roof. As I understand it, the proper field for a joint-stock undertaking is that kind of thing, where large numbers of small deposits are drawn out of private hoards and put together in a large fund and directed to the execution of some important undertaking. The people at that time brought out their little hoards, and I am sorry to say, as far as I know, they were all pretty well swept away in the disastrous crisis which afterwards occurred. They have been intimidated by that, but at that time they were certainly ready to bring out their money. A native who was a subordinate of mine, who had left the service, and gone into business, came one day to me and said, "I have started an entirely new business." I said, "What is it?" He said, "I am borrowing from all my personal friends their little deposits and hoards at a small rate" (I think 2 or 3 per cent.), "and using it at a very considerably higher rate." If we could restore the same amount of confidence as then existed to all those people holding those small sums, so that their money could be brought together for public uses, it would be a very useful thing. That could be done by opening loans in the principal towns at every collector's office, letting the people know what rate of interest they would get, and giving them the guarantee of the State that they would get that interest; by that means a large sum might be got to supply the drain which is going on.

Colonel SYKES.—They would be savings banks in fact.

Mr. PHIL.—There is something of the kind at the collectors' offices, but it has never been properly introduced to the people, and they know nothing about it. That is an important thing; but of all important things the most important is the decentralization of our financial administration. From my own personal experience I can testify to the disheartening effect of the present system upon the local governors and local councils. For instance, they send up estimates for works which they have to

carry on; of course they state the lowest sum at which they think the work can be done, and they get back orders from Calcutta that they are to do it for two-thirds of the amount required for the work. In the case of the court-house at Ahmedabad, the Government drew out plans for a new court-house at Ahmedabad at a cost of 3 lacs, and they sent a requisition for that amount to Calcutta; the reply was, It is all very fine to ask for 3 lacs, but it must be executed for 2 lacs. The alternative was to knock off a top story or to take off some of the decoration; the actual result is that the court-house has never been made to this day. That is the effect upon the local governors and local councils. I believe the effect upon the Governor-General and the Council is as unpleasant—they are embarrassed to the last degree in dividing and distributing the money for public works. Among the number of applications made to them, they are quite at a loss to know which they shall sanction and which they shall postpone. Then as regards the natives themselves, they never see how their money is spent; they do not know where it goes to; they do not know how much belongs to Bombay or how much belongs to Bengal; they do not come forward to lend us in the work of administration that assistance which I believe to be one of our sources of hope of eventually governing India with success. Among the compensative measures tending to make up for our deficiency to which attention should be directed, is a rigid scrutiny of the Home Charges. I support the propositions of Mr. Knight not so much from the expectation that a large reduction will take place in the Home Charges, as with a feeling of the importance of laying down a strict line of Indian revenue and expenditure, and the importance of establishing a strict code of morality in the matter. I do not suppose anything will be knocked off, but nothing can be more important than that attention should be drawn to this matter. The want of consideration which Mr. Knight refers to in his first Resolution is really want of thought, because the subject has not been seriously discussed within the last ten or twelve years. I think the measures which the Government have brought into operation during the last ten years are a very good guarantee that if a reasonable and moderate case is put before them, it will meet with instant attention. We see remedies already being devised for the wants of Ireland, and now the case of the agricultural tenant in England is being brought forward; and I have no doubt that anything that India in justice requires will also be accorded to it. Entertaining that feeling, I have much pleasure in seconding Mr. Knight's Resolutions.

MR. NEALE PORTER.—It is not without some reluctance that I raise a voice of dissent in a meeting where apparently so much unanimity exists. At the same time I wish to say that I appreciate to the highest extent the sympathy and earnestness of Mr. Knight in dealing with this matter. I believe he has only one object at heart—the welfare of our Indian fellow-subjects. Under the rules of this Association it is impossible to make a long speech; therefore I will at once read the amendment which I have drafted to Mr. Knight's Resolutions—probably he may be willing to accept it in substitution for the Resolutions which he has placed before us. Instead of the two first Resolutions, I propose one which contains in the main the spirit of his propositions. It is this: "That in view of the recent discussions in Parliament concerning our financial relations with India, this Association cannot but fear that the nature of those relations is very imperfectly understood by English statesmen: and in the opinion of this Association it is desirable that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into this most important question." My object in asking the Association to accept this substitution for what Mr. Knight has proposed is, that it is somewhat more conciliatory and moderate in tone. I deprecate anything that may lead to irritation either in this country or in India. I should be sorry to see it put upon record that we considered that the conduct of our financial relations with India has been too often marked by great want of consideration for the people of India. Again, I do not think it desirable to go into the question whether the trade of India has suffered since the close of the American war. There must be necessarily commercial changes at the close of long wars. And I think also we should take too wide a range if we asked for an inquiry into the economic condition of that vast empire, which is a very large question. With reference to Mr. Knight's general paper,—unusually long, though not longer than the importance of the subject justified, but still so long that it is impossible in the few minutes allowed me under the strict rules of the Association to travel over it very fully,—I regret that Mr. Knight laid so much stress upon the evil doings of our ancestors. We must remember that in the days of the acquisition of our Indian empire those were rough times, not only in Asia, but in Europe; those were times

when in this country we hanged men for stealing a leg of mutton. Our legislation and our political system were not of that humane and civilized character which happily now distinguishes them. We know also that other European nations, the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the French, were not behind us—some were before us—in measures of Eastern enterprise. It is not to be supposed that the people of this country were to be left behind in the race. You must bear in mind, too, the great distance of those operations from the governing power at home. It was then a six months' voyage to Calcutta. It took twelve or eighteen months for the Directors at Leadenhall Street to get an answer from the Council in Calcutta to any communication they sent out. Then again no one can say that the pick of the nation went out to India to push their fortunes there. There were some distinguished men of high character and great abilities, but with them many men of damaged fortunes and character went out with the hope of restoring those fortunes in India. I am not going to follow Mr. Knight—and I mean no disrespect to him in not doing so—into that elaborate calculation based on compound interest by which he raises to an amazing amount what we are supposed at this moment to be indebted to India; because those calculations, to have any value, must be based on exact and unvarying conditions. If I put 100*l.* in a bank and leave it there to fructify at compound interest, I know that at the end of 100 years, should that bank continue to be solvent, I shall be entitled to a certain amount of money; but in the fluctuating events and changing circumstances of the career of a nation, and even of a nation with a settled Government, you have not got those exact conditions that will enable you to make a precise arithmetical computation of what at the end of seventy or eighty years would be the value of money abstracted or levied, or contributed. That consideration applies particularly to India. Take for instance Bengal. Bengal was not a powerful kingdom; Bengal was a mere distant Subah of the Mogul empire, governed by a Subadar, now obedient, now mutinous; exposed to raids of all kinds. Who would have been in Bengal if we had not been there? You might have had those benefactors of Eastern countries, the Dutch; you might have had the French; you might have had the Portuguese; you might have had the Mahrattas, and you probably would have had the Mahrattas, levying contributions much heavier than those levied by our ancestors in those days. Therefore I think with reference to this excellent and elaborate paper, so cleverly written by Mr. Knight, we should dismiss all this dismal and melancholy retrospect of the misdoings of those distinguished soldiers, though not perhaps very able statesmen, who at that time of our history we sent out to India. Taking that for granted, I come to the question of the Home Charges. The Home Charges are aggravated in the mind of Mr. Knight by the circumstance of absenteeism; but if you have a great Eastern empire at a distance of 12,000 miles governed by a northern people, you must have absenteeism; if you object to absenteeism, you object to British rule in India. Does Mr. Knight rise as a subject of Her Majesty to object to our rule in India? I could understand one of my native friends rising and objecting to English rule, and perhaps I should not be disposed to hang him or blow him from a gun if he did so—his nationality would be his justification to some extent; but I cannot understand an Englishman objecting with such emphasis to absenteeism, which involves, I presume to say, the question of the English rule in India. I for one am not prepared to abandon the English rule in India. It is not the consideration of the good of the people of India that makes me say that, much as I regard it; I say as an Englishman, with reference to the interests of my own country, I am not prepared to abandon our Eastern empire; but I hope with, as I think, the rest of my countrymen, my conscience is sufficiently sensitive to wish to do justice to that Eastern empire as long as we hold it. Taking it for granted that absenteeism must exist, because the English are the rulers of India, then with absenteeism, as was said by the gentleman on my right, you must naturally have Home Charges.

MR. KNIGHT.—I have not objected to Home Charges.

MR. NEALE PORTER.—I do not say that you have, nor do I object to them, but they have been referred to.

MR. KNIGHT.—I ask for an inquiry.

MR. NEALE PORTER.—I am not making an attack upon your paper, but only commenting upon it. You did lay stress upon the circumstance of millions drawn from India being spent in this country in the way of pensions, in the way of profits derived from Indian railways, and in other ways. Assuming that that is so, there are many Governments in Europe who come here and have works executed here. They purchase

men-of-war here, and they borrow money for railways here, but they do not complain that the interest of the money that they borrow to make railways in Russia and Spain and elsewhere is spent here; and though I admit that the two cases are not on an exact parallel, I say there is no grievance in a country having to send money for such purposes out of the country. With regard to the financial question, take our Indian railways: for the last fourteen years you have had an average of four millions sterling of English money, because, speaking broadly, no native holds Indian railway shares, annually spent in India: that is the present rate of expenditure on our Indian railways. With reference to the guaranteed interest, that is nearly covered by the earnings of the railways, and there is every reason to hope, and no man can doubt, that hereafter we shall see those railways, if properly managed, earning more than enough to pay their guaranteed interest, and that we shall have railways spreading throughout the land, taking more and more English capital into the country. I conclude by proposing the amendment which I have read, and which I submit to the consideration of the meeting and the consideration of Mr. Knight. If he will accept it without going to a division, I shall feel flattered; if he does not, he will exercise that independence of opinion which of course he is perfectly entitled to exercise.

Mr. MACLEAN.—I rise for the purpose of supporting Mr. Porter's amendment. I had come here with the intention of proposing an amendment myself upon Mr. Knight's Resolutions, which would have left nothing except the first clause of the first Resolution, *viz.*: "That in view of the recent discussions in Parliament concerning our financial relations with India, this Association cannot but fear that the true history and nature of those relations are very imperfectly understood by English statesmen." I think that would be quite a sufficient expression of the views of this Association, for I take it that we are here to consider this point as practical politicians dealing with the affairs of to-day. I have read with great interest the paper which Mr. Knight has written upon this subject: it is impossible not to admire the great research and ingenuity which he has displayed in that paper, but I look upon it rather as a valuable contribution to the history of India, than as having much bearing on the subject of our present financial relations with that country. I could imagine no better tonic for any young Englishman who happened to be carried away by the brilliant description which Macaulay gives of the glories of the first English conquerors of India, than a steady perusal of the pamphlet which Mr. Knight has brought before us. In that respect, no doubt it would be exceedingly valuable, as lowering that national self-complacency which we are always told is the great fault of English people. But I have this to say with regard to all the points that Mr. Knight has made on the subject of the spoliation which took place in India by Englishmen up to the time of the Mutiny, that as practical politicians we ought to consider that that account was completely closed when the Crown took over the Company's Government. You cannot require that any Government should be faultless; every Government makes mistakes and commits blunders and follies, even if it does not commit crimes; and each Government that succeeds another necessarily succeeds to the inheritance and closes the account of the past, starting fair with its own policy for the future. I say when the Crown took over the Government of India in 1858, when it parted for ever with the Company and its doings (recognizing, as far as it could, with that tenderness for vested rights which always characterizes Englishmen when a revolution is taking place, the interests of the Company, perhaps wrongly assigning them too much, perhaps the shareholders might say assigning them too little), the old account was closed once for all, and we started with a new Government of India from that date.

Colonel SYKES.—By-gones are by-gones.

Mr. MACLEAN.—Yes; therefore though what Mr. Knight may say about the past may be very correct, I think it is a useless and mischievous policy to revive that sort of thing at this day, and to be pertinaciously reopening old sores instead of concentrating your attention, as politicians of to-day, on the actual state of our relations and the actual defects of our administration of to-day. It is not necessary, perhaps, after what has been said, to go back to one or two cases which Mr. Knight has mentioned; but I might refer to the Afghan war. He speaks of the debt incurred there; but you must remember that the politicians of that day supposed, and it may be contended rightly supposed, that they could best defend the Government of India by advancing into Afghanistan, and resisting the Russian advance. If you say that the British Government is good for India, you are bound to admit that the men who, under whatever mistaken intentions, tried to defend our Government there, were jus-

tified in incurring debt for that purpose. So with regard to the debt on account of the Mutiny. Mr. Knight contends that that debt was caused wholly by misgovernment, and therefore the great bulk of the debt ought to come upon the English people. I speak in the presence of gentlemen who know more upon that subject than I can pretend to know; but I think the real occasion of the Mutiny was this, the English have been trying to do for many years what no other nation in history has ever attempted doing before, to maintain with a small English army the greatest empire the world has ever seen. Consequently when England became involved in a European war, when it had to send a large force to the Crimea, having its numerous dependencies to maintain, and getting no tribute from them, she could not go to the expense of raising a fresh army—it would have taxed too severely the resources of this country to raise a fresh army—to carry on the Crimean war; consequently she had to draw from India English soldiers to carry on the Crimean war; the consequence was that a rebellion was excited by the disaffected men always to be found in the country.

Mr. KNIGHT.—The Crimean war had closed two years before.

Mr. MACLEAN.—But the country had been denuded of English soldiers for the Crimean war.

Colonel SYKES.—Cavalry came from India to the Crimea—that was all.

Mr. MACLEAN.—Yes, while the war was actually going on. However, I will only say this with respect to the debts that have been incurred by former Governments of India, we cannot hope to get rid of that burden. There are politicians in this country who maintain that the people of this country, having only lately been admitted to power, are not bound to pay interest on that National Debt which was contracted by the aristocracy in putting down the liberties of Europe. If you come to that, you come simply and solely to repudiation; and what Mr. Knight would seem to advocate in his paper, or think possible, is, that India also should repudiate her debt in the same way. Coming, however, to the present state of our relations with India, and assuming that there is no possibility of disputing the vested rights which exist, I would just point out the very different way in which Mr. Knight treats of the contributions made by India, and the contributions made by England, towards the general expenses. When he is speaking of India paying in this country the dividends on the capital lent her for constructing railways which have been an inestimable boon to that country, he talks of "draining the life-blood of the people," "the giant system of absenteeism," and uses a few large phrases of that kind; but he speaks in the most slighting way, and with the utmost contempt, of the fact that India supports no navy of her own, and that the tax-payers of England are called upon to pay one or two millions a-year for the protection of the whole of the commerce on the coasts of India. I am afraid of trespassing too long on your attention; but this is a very long paper, and it goes into so many points, that it is impossible to say anything satisfactory about it without speaking at some length.—Mr. Knight speaks in this way of the navy:—"It is true that India pays nothing towards the cost of the Royal Navy; but it is also true that for very many years she was required to maintain a navy in which the people of India had almost no interest, and the advantages of which were all but wholly engrossed by the commerce of this country." And he goes on to justify that in this way:—"For if we except Bombay, Madras, and Kurrachee, which can be successfully protected only by local defences or gunboats, there is not a point upon the whole coast of India that could invite hostile invasion. So far, then, as the shores of India are concerned, the Royal Navy might as well not be." Now I remember a gallant officer of the Royal Navy, a distinguished man, who had just made a voyage along the coast from Trincomalee to Bombay, saying to me on the deck of his own ship, very much what Blucher is reported to have said with respect to London when he was on the top of St. Paul's, "What a magnificent coast this would be to loot!"

Mr. KNIGHT.—Then he had never been on the coast, for it consists only of fishing villages all the way.

Mr. MACLEAN.—I am not speaking of the places only on the coast; the whole coast is so utterly unprotected and open to invasion, that any force might invade the country. He may have been mistaken about its being a good coast to loot, but he was not mistaken about the unprotected state of that 3000 miles of sea-coast. Mr. Knight says there is not a point on the whole coast of India, with the exception of Bombay, Madras, and Kurrachee, which requires to be defended, and therefore India requires no navy. And he says, "The same thing may be affirmed of the second

great purpose that navy serves, *viz.* the protection of our mercantile marine from capture. For India has no mercantile marine to be captured. She is simply a producing country, and growing commodities which all the world hankers for. Her ports are filled with English and foreign shipping, soliciting that produce. As to dangers from piracy, the argument is an anachronism, the old Indian navy having rooted piracy out of the Indian seas half-a-century ago." Mr. Knight appears to suppose that piracy, having been once suppressed, must be suppressed for ever; that there is no possibility of its reviving when the navy that has destroyed it is taken away; that, when one generation of pirates is destroyed, they will never re-appear. It is well known to everybody that the whole of those seas afford the best hiding-places in the world, and the whole of the rich commerce of India would be at the mercy of those men if the navy were withdrawn. Would it be no harm to India if she were prevented carrying on her commerce, whether in foreign ships or in her own? The great charge, however, which Mr. Knight brings against our Government of India, is in reality what he calls the "giant system of absenteeism." Is the term "absenteeism," taking it in its real economic meaning, applicable rightly to the case of India? I think that when we complain of absentee-proprietors, from Ireland for instance, that complaint means this, that there are a number of rich landlords who collect the rent of the land, which, according to political economists, is the produce of no man's labour, and take out of the country that fund intended by nature for the improvement of the land, and spend it abroad for their own gratification, giving no return to the country for the money they get. Is that in any way a fair description of the Home Charges for what we do for India? Mr. Knight seems, in his calculations, to be so carried away by figures, that he entirely loses out of sight the important element of men. He does not seem to me to see that in return for all we take we give the labour from year to year of an immense number of Englishmen in improving the resources and conducting the Government of India. That labour is actually put into the land—it is work done; every step in civilization that you make is the result (at least our Government is not justified in existing there if it is not the result) of superior energy and wisdom brought to the administration of Indian affairs by the English Government. Therefore those Home Charges do not represent, in any sense of the word, money paid to men who have never done anything for India, to be spent abroad for their own benefit; they are simply a portion of the legitimate pay which those men earn by work done in India and for the benefit of India. The question simply then amounts to this, whether the work which England does, by giving India a foreign government, is sufficient to counterbalance the evils which must always exist to some extent of foreign dominion; and Mr. Knight himself admits that it is so. He expects very little diminution of the Home Charges; he does not see his way to suggesting anything towards their diminution to any great extent. It seems to me that the conclusion to which this points for the future is this, that if we admit that the Home Charges, as they at present exist, are a simple acknowledgment of work done by England for India, and if we hold that foreign dominion is an evil, the only way possible for us to apply a remedy is to increase the employment of natives themselves in the country. That is the legitimate result of the policy which we have pursued for years, and having set our hands to the work, it is impossible that we should turn back. You see in everything that comes from India, week by week, in speeches and papers written by natives themselves, how strong the feeling is amongst them of their own nationality and the career that ought to be thrown open to them by a Government which professes to be liberal and progressive. And whatever views anybody may have entertained about the policy of all this change, every one must see that it is now an inevitable thing, and that once started we cannot possibly go back. I do not see that a Royal Commission appointed to consider our financial relations would be able to suggest any measures in furtherance of that policy, that are not already introduced in India. My objection to the proposal for a Royal Commission is simply this, that the matters into which it would have to inquire are exceedingly small; but at the same time this is to be considered—it is very desirable to have the financial relations of the two countries fixed on a definite and intelligible basis. No principle has yet been fixed or acknowledged, by which they should be controlled. I therefore came here with the intention of supporting the first part of Mr. Knight's first Resolution, proposing that a Royal Commission should be appointed, in order, if possible, to fix those relations on an intelligible footing, so that everybody in both countries may be satisfied.

Mr. BONNERJEE.—I have but very few words to say against the amendment proposed by Mr. Porter so ably, and seconded so ably by the gentleman who has just spoken, and at the same time I beg to propose another amendment to the Resolutions submitted to us by Mr. Knight. I think the only objection that I can bring forward to Mr. Porter's amendment is this, that the British Parliament will not be willing to give us a Royal Commission without our showing cause why a Royal Commission should be issued. In 1865, Sir Arthur Cotton wrote to the Secretary of State to say that a famine in Orissa was very imminent, and he almost gave the date when that famine would be experienced in the country; but notwithstanding that the Secretary of State possessed that information, the famine came, and continued in the country for more than a year, killing thousands and thousands of people. Therefore we must go prepared to show that if this Royal Commission is not issued, there will be consequences greatly to be deplored happening to India. I think therefore the second Resolution of Mr. Knight very important, because it shows to the English Government that the close of the American war having put a severe check to the material prosperity of the country, trade has suffered, money is very scarce in the country, and famine is imminent; and I believe a famine is really imminent in the Madras Presidency—the accounts by the last mail are very alarming indeed; therefore it seems to me we must not do away with the second Resolution. Perhaps I may be able to meet Mr. Porter's views by proposing this amendment to Mr. Knight's first Resolution. I propose that it should be read thus:—"That in view of the recent discussions in Parliament concerning our financial relations with India, this Association cannot but fear that the true history and nature of those relations are very imperfectly understood by English statesmen, and it is absolutely necessary that there should be a searching and an exact inquiry into such relations." I think Mr. Porter was perfectly right when he said we ought not to go before the Secretary of State and say that the conduct of English statesman, as regards those relations, has been marked by great want of consideration for the people of India, because in the preamble of Mr. Knight's Resolution he has said that English statesmen are very imperfectly acquainted with those financial relations. Besides, if you left this in its positive form, it would mean that English statesmen had wilfully shown want of consideration for the people of India, and, as a native of India, I do not want to go before the Secretary of State and say that I think English statesmen have wilfully shown a want of consideration for us. Therefore I think my amendment would really meet the views of Mr. Porter and his seconder.

After some discussion—

Mr. FAWCETT said the two Resolutions open two subjects altogether different. The first Resolution seems to go to a very important subject, namely, what charges India ought to bear, and what charge this country ought to bear; then the second Resolution supposes the trade of India to be very depressed, and it says that it would be desirable to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into it: they are two distinct subjects.

Mr. KNIGHT.—I agree that they are, but I have pointed out in my paper the connection between the two.

Mr. FAWCETT.—But could not you point it out in the Resolution?

Mr. KNIGHT.—The two Resolutions are connected together. I have pointed out the effect which the immense drain has upon the economic condition of India—it absolutely prevents at this moment all importation of bullion into India. We cannot narrow the inquiry to a mere investigation of the Home Charges. The point is, the effect of the Home Charges upon the economic condition of India.

Mr. FAWCETT.—Would not it be better to shape the first Resolution something in this way?—"That in view of the recent discussions in Parliament concerning our financial relations with India, this Association cannot but fear that the true history and nature of those relations are very imperfectly understood by English statesmen, and for want of that understanding this Association considers a very important effect is produced upon the trade of India; and therefore ask for a Royal Commission."

Mr. KNIGHT.—Suppose we say, "That it is very important in the opinion of this Association that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the whole subject of our financial relations with India, and their effect upon the economic condition of that country."

Mr. FAWCETT.—It would be very important to preface it with the words, "In view of the recent financial discussions in Parliament;" because last session, when I brought

forward my motion about the Abyssinian war, Mr. Gladstone sent for me just before I divided the House, and asked me not to divide the House, saying that he would support me in any way he could, to get either a Commission or a Committee to inquire into the very subject you are now discussing, and he mentioned it, I believe, in his speech. I told him I felt so strongly upon the subject that I could not do otherwise than go to a division. That might be quoted in urging that a Commission should be appointed. He said it was a very important subject, and a large subject; and he thought a Commission ought to be appointed to consider it.

Mr. KNIGHT.—I will endeavour to frame an amendment in accordance with what seems to be the general feeling of the meeting.

Mr. FAWCETT.—I should make it as wide as possible.

While Mr. Knight was drawing up an amended Resolution to meet the suggestions of Mr. Fawcett and Mr. Bonnerjee—

Mr. BONNERJEE addressed the meeting in answer to some of the observations made by the preceding speakers. He contended that it was absolutely necessary to refer to the past; that English statesmen ought to study the wants of the people of India; and that those wants could not be properly studied unless the conduct of English statesmen in past times was reviewed by the statesmen of the present time. He thought also that Mr. Knight was perfectly justified in censuring the conduct of the English Government for saddling India with the expenses of the Indian Mutiny, India being an integral portion of the British empire, which ought no more to have been called upon to pay for putting down such a Mutiny (the Mutiny having for its object the subversion of the Imperial rule), than Ireland was called upon to pay for quelling the Fenian disturbances. With respect to what had been said about absenteeism, he referred to the East India bond-holders, who could not be said to have given the country any of their labour. He could quite understand if the English Government were to rule India there must be absenteeism, but over and above the necessary absenteeism there ought not to be introduced what might be called artificial absenteeism. As much as possible of the money belonging to India ought to be allowed to remain there. He suggested to Mr. Knight, that instead of the proposed deputation from the Association waiting upon the Secretary of State only, it should wait upon the Prime Minister, who was, he presumed, the fountain-head from which all Royal Commissions proceeded, the question being not merely an Indian question, but an Imperial question.

Mr. Knight handed to Mr. Bonnerjee the modification of his own Resolution which he had drawn up, founded on the suggestions of Mr. Fawcett and Mr. Bonnerjee.

Mr. BONNERJEE.—This will be the form of the amendment which I now move:—“That in view of the recent discussions in Parliament concerning our financial relations with India, this Association cannot but fear that the true history and nature of those relations are very imperfectly understood by English statesmen; and that it is very important in the opinion of this Association, that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the whole subject of our financial relations with India, and their effect upon the economic condition of that country.”

Mr. GANTZ.—I second that.

Mr. NEALE PORTER.—I object to the word “history;” will not you strike that out?

Mr. KNIGHT.—No; what we want is an inquiry into the whole subject of our financial relations with India, and their effect upon the economic condition of that country.

Mr. NEALE PORTER.—I submitted an amendment, which has not met with the entire approval of Mr. Knight, though it has led to some modification of his original proposal. What I object to in the Resolution is the word “history.” I shall divide the meeting if that word is kept in the Resolution.

The Rev. HORMAZDJI PESTONJI.—That word “history” seems to me to be the very backbone of the Resolution. If we cut that word out we might as well do away with the whole pamphlet, which I daresay none of us would rise up to gainsay. I should object to that word being expunged.

Mr. NEALE PORTER.—There is a certain sting in the word “history.” I want to take out all irritating and superfluous matter.

The CHAIRMAN read to the meeting the amendment as proposed by Mr. Bonnerjee, and seconded by Mr. Gantz.

Mr. NEALE PORTER.—I rise to say that I much prefer my own amendment, but in the spirit of conciliation and compromise, which I hope will always characterize

our meetings, I beg to waive my predilections for my own amendment, and accept what Mr. Knight and Mr. Bonnerjee prefer.

The amendment was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. KNIGHT.—I beg to propose that the following gentlemen compose the deputation :—

The Earl of Kellie.
 Lord Wm. Hay, M.P.
 Sir H. Rawlinson, K.C.B., M.P.
 Colonel Sykes, M.P.
 H. Fawcett, Esq., M.P.
 General C. F. North.
 General J. Briggs, F.R.S., F.R.G.S.
 Colonel P. T. French.
 Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq.

D. D. Cama, Esq.
 J. G. Coleman, Esq.
 Sir Herbert Edwardes.
 P. P. Gordon, Esq.
 R. N. Fowler, Esq.
 W. S. Fitzwilliam, Esq.
 E. B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B., F.R.S.
 R. Knight, Esq.
 Sir Edward Green, K.C.B.

Colonel HALY.—I beg to propose that Mr. Bonnerjee, Mr. Porter, and Mr. Peile be added to the deputation.

Mr. KNIGHT.—I conclude that there will be no objection to those names. They may be considered as accepted by the meeting.

The names were accordingly added.

CHAIRMAN.—Before I quit the chair, I must advert to the labours of Mr. Knight in preparing this pamphlet. Mr. Knight is a gentleman well known for his advocacy of measures for the good of India in general, but more especially that part of India to which he has devoted his services; and I am gratified to find that he has come here amongst us, and brought before the English public a little more knowledge of that country of which the people of this country are so ignorant. I think we are very much indebted to Mr. Knight for his indefatigable labours, and I beg therefore to propose a vote of thanks to him for his labours in bringing this subject before us.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. KNIGHT.—I thank you very heartily for the compliment you have so kindly paid me, and I trust it will simply be an incentive to me to labour more earnestly and with more single-mindedness than in the past for the good of the people among whom my lot has been cast for so many years. In justice to myself I must say that I have not exaggerated in the least in this paper my sense of the enormous importance of the subject discussed in it. I do not think it possible for any member of the Association, or any one, unless he has studied the subject as I have myself done, to appreciate the importance of it. I hope our Royal Commission will be got, though I confess I have some doubts of it; and if it is obtained, I hope it will be the means of enlightening English opinion a good deal upon the history and the proper character of the relations between this country and India. I am satisfied that we have not arrived at the right principle yet; but that we shall get it, through a process of investigation, I do not doubt for a moment.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—I beg to move a vote of thanks to the Chairman, who so kindly, at a moment's notice, undertook to preside, and who has performed his duties so ably. I wished very much to say something upon the subject of the paper; but of course the business is over. I may take some other opportunity of making some few remarks upon it.

The vote of thanks to the Chairman was put, and carried unanimously.

DEPUTATION TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

APRIL 22.

A DEPUTATION, consisting of the following gentlemen :—Colonel Sykes, M.P., Mr. T. Bazley, M.P., Mr. John Peel, M.P., Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., Mr. A. Fawcett, M.P., Mr. A. Graham, M.P., General C. F. North, R.E., Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. S. P. Low, Mr. E. B. Eastwick, C.B., Captain Barber, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Neale Porter, Mr. P. P. Gordon, Mr. Robert Knight, Mr. A. Rodyk, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee—waited upon Sir Stafford Northcote at the India Office on April 22, to urge the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into our financial relations with India, and their effect upon the economic condition of that country.

General NORTH explained that the deputation was promoted by the East India Association. During the last ten years the subject of our financial relations with India, to which they wished to call the attention of the Government, had much engaged public attention, and writers and public men both in India and England had arrived at opinions of a very discordant character. One class of persons regarded India as the most burdensome of our possessions, while another urged that it was the milch cow of our dependencies. The East India Association had passed the following Resolution, which he begged to hand to Sir Stafford :—“ That in view of the recent discussions in Parliament concerning our financial relations with India, this Association cannot but fear that the true history and nature of those relations are very imperfectly understood by English statesmen, and that it is very important in the opinion of this Association that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the whole subject of our financial relations with India, and their effect upon the economic condition of that country.” He wished, however, to guard the Association from being thought to be wedded to any special set of opinions, or from arrogantly agreeing with the oft-repeated assertion that Indian matters were not understood by English statesmen. At the same time the variety of opinions that existed showed that our relations with India were not perfectly comprehended. During the past ten years, the policy of conciliation, together with the spread of the English language and the increased facilities for intercommunication given by railways and a free press, had caused a more marked recognition of the principle that the natives of India must for the future be employed more than hitherto in administrative offices in their own country, and should be allowed some voice in their own taxation. Amongst the subjects which a Royal Commission might inquire into were a readjustment of the naval and military charges, the debt and currency of India, the home charges, guarantees, and many other subsidiary matters. It was his firm conviction that the granting of this Royal Commission would be regarded by politicians of all shades as a simple act of justice towards India, while the natives would look upon it as another practical illustration of that magnanimous conciliatory policy that characterized Her Majesty's proclamation of 1858.

Mr. KNIGHT, of the ‘Times of India,’ whose able paper, read and discussed at a recent meeting of the East India Association, Sir Stafford Northcote said he had read with much attention and interest, briefly enforced the necessity of what was asked for.

Mr. BAZLEY, M.P., said he attended with his hon. friend Mr. Jacob Bright, as representing Manchester, and he feared the proposed inquiry was too restricted. The financial relations of India, like those of every other country, were but the reflex of actual transactions; and he thought it would be wiser to extend the inquiry so as to ascertain what was the agricultural and commercial condition of India, as was proposed by Sir Robert Peel twenty years ago. If a comprehensive inquiry were instituted, some elucidation might be arrived at as to the excess of bullion that had poured into the country. Of late years, no doubt the resources of India had been developed in a most remarkable manner, and the quality and quantity of the cotton had greatly

improved. He believed something like a hundred millions sterling had been poured into India during the last seven years for cotton alone, and he felt satisfied there were enormous resources yet in India that might be developed under the enlightened supervision of the Indian council.

Mr. N. PORTER strongly deprecated the extension of the proposed inquiry beyond the terms of the Resolution.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, in reply, said—I need not say that such a deputation as this upon any subject would command my most respectful attention; and certainly the subject-matter which you have brought under my notice is of sufficient importance to command respectful attention by whomsoever it was presented. I am certainly in no danger of under-estimating the importance of what you propose. The real difficulty which weighs with me is that the subject is so exceedingly large and so very important that I doubt whether the measure which you suggest is the proper measure to be taken for dealing with, I will not say so large a question, but so large a group of questions, as those which would have to be considered. Now, we hear very often complaints made as to the tendency of Governments to throw off difficult subjects upon Royal Commissions, which I think are rather abused, for they are instruments which for proper purposes are extremely valuable; but I think that it is a great mistake to refer large questions of policy to a Royal Commission. When a Royal Commission is appointed, the basis upon which it is to proceed should be pretty clearly laid down, and I agree that it is desirable to narrow rather than to broaden the inquiry which you may entrust to any body of that kind. With regard to large questions of policy, such as are embraced in this inquiry, I think that they are matters rather for the consideration of the responsible Government of the country and for Parliament than for any body of gentlemen who could be selected to form part of a Royal Commission. If the Commission was intended to be a sort of mixed Commission to act as arbitrator between India and England upon questions which might be, as it were, in dispute between them, I think that great difficulties would arise as to its composition, and as to the particular points that should be referred to it: but I am not indisposed to admit that there might be certain questions which might be dealt with in that way; and possibly, when we could agree upon all the principles of policy, it might not be disadvantageous to appoint Commissions, or a Commission, to inquire into certain points upon which facts were to be collected and collated, and from which inferences might be drawn, upon which the Government and Parliament might afterwards act. For instance, there was the question which Mr. Gladstone raised, and which seems to have given the cue to the proceedings before the Association. Mr. Gladstone suggested that a particular question should be made the subject of a particular inquiry, that is to say, What is the exact relation between India and England as to the cost which the one and the other bears in respect of military expenditure? That is a question which perhaps many Members of Parliament are very little familiar with, and it might not be useless to have a formal inquiry which should lay the facts before Parliament for its consideration. But I see that Mr. Knight, in his able paper, takes up that question, and broadens it very much indeed by going into the question as to the moral right of England to make use of the forces of India, and into the question whether certain wars were or were not for the benefit of India; and questions of that sort are raised which, I think, would be beyond the competence of any Royal Commission to determine,—they would be questions which it would be necessary to have fairly argued before Parliament and before the people of this country, and upon which I think it would be very reasonable that discussion should take place. But I think that it would be impossible to refer such questions to a Royal Commission. We should first of all clear our minds as to what the proper relations between India and England are, and then let us inquire, or simultaneously if you please let us inquire into some of those points which arise out of those relations. There, of course, is the great question which Mr. Knight has raised, as to what the effect upon the material condition of India is of the system of remittances, and the mode in which the Home Charges are dealt with. Those questions, and other questions of fact of that kind, might very possibly form subjects of inquiry. There is the question of the currency, which has been a subject of inquiry recently, and it is still under consideration, and we have not yet received the views of the Government of India upon the subject. Then, again, there is a great question which Mr. Knight raises which goes to the root of our whole financial system, as to whether you should tax or borrow, and if you should borrow, whether the borrowing should be on the credit of India alone or on the credit of India supported by the credit of

England. I do not like now to express an opinion upon that; it is a very great question, and one which I think ought to be very deliberately considered; but I do not think that it is a question which could be referred to a Royal Commission to decide, because that question would ultimately come to this, whether the people of England were or were not prepared to take upon themselves the charge of the debt of India; and if the people of England were to say we are not prepared to do so, what is to be the effect of the report of any Royal Commission upon the subject? It is a question that would have to be decided by Parliament, and which could not be decided by a Royal Commission. The whole thing really resolves itself into this—whether the relations between India and England are satisfactory and for the mutual advantage of the two countries. If you say they are not on a proper footing, and that they ought to be revised, then comes the question, is either side willing to say, sooner than that they should be revised we are ready to part company? You would there have a very difficult question presented to you in England, which would have to be presented to the Parliament of England; but you would have a still more difficult question presented to you in India, because I do not know by whom the answer is to be given. I merely allude to these as questions of a very large and comprehensive character, which I think should rather form the subject of public discussion, as they very properly might do in Parliament and elsewhere, than as being matters that could be referred to a Royal Commission. I will only say further that I shall of course feel it my duty to mention the deputation, and the objects of the deputation, to my colleagues, and I shall take the opinion of the Cabinet as to whether it would be right that any measure should be taken of this kind. I should also think it right to consult the Council of India, and I can assure the deputation that I shall give my most respectful attention to all that has been said, and to what has been so very ably urged in Mr. Knight's pamphlet. What I have said has been rather with a view to show that I think the questions raised are larger than could possibly be satisfactorily dealt with by a Commission, and if there is to be any inquiry at all, it must be confined to special branches of the subject, and could not comprehend the whole of it.

The deputation then retired.



JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING, WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1868.

THE HON. H. G. LIDDELL, M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Adjourned discussion on Sir ARTHUR COTTON's Paper

On the Opening of the Godavery River.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—I only open the subject to-night in the hope that somebody else will take it up. I am placed in a very unusual difficulty on this occasion, which is, that at our late meeting we had no discussion. It is usual with me to have everything that can possibly be imagined, and many things that could not be imagined except by ingenious minds, said against my plans; but at the last discussion everything was said in favour of them, and I was entirely supported by everyone who spoke, which has put me in the difficulty that I have nothing to answer.

The immediate subject of discussion was the opening up of the Godavery. The Godavery cuts directly across the broadest part of the peninsula, and it lets us into a tract of country which has hitherto been to all intents and purposes entirely sealed up from commerce. The traffic which takes place to and from a district 400 or 500 miles from the coast, and with either no roads at all (for this part of the country has hardly any made roads at all) or with imperfect roads, is next to nothing—the traffic is in fact entirely destroyed. Even common roads would be totally insufficient to accommodate the great traffic of the country, and therefore the whole of that tract has to all intents and purposes been cut off from all real commerce—the traffic carried from it and to it being so trifling as very little to affect the country. The whole question, then, was to obtain a really cheap transit into the heart of the country. And what made it particularly desirable and important was that it is now a completely ascertained and universally allowed fact that the centre of that country is the point where the finest cotton is grown. An American cotton planter, travelling from here (*pointing to the map*) to Bombay, passed through this country. In every day's march, as he approached that part of the country, he found that he was more and more in a country suited to the growth of cotton, and in every day's march that he left it it deteriorated, so that he was quite satisfied that it was a natural cotton-country of the very first class. And so it has turned out; for the cotton from this neighbourhood of the Hingunghaut has sold at Manchester at a higher price than the best American upland cotton.

When we speak of the desirableness of the country being opened up for the sake of cotton it is apt to be supposed that it is merely the carriage of ten, twenty, or fifty thousand tons of cotton. That is not the case; what is wanted to enable the country to give itself up to any particular product is, that it should be placed in such cheap communication with other districts that it can obtain most of what it wants from those other districts, so that it may be at liberty to use most of its land for the particular product for which it is suited; so that though there may be only 50,000 tons of the product of the district, 1,000,000 tons would be carried in and out to enable them to grow it. This is the case in America. The articles of food are brought from 500 to 1000 miles distance, and it is the cheap transit of all the necessities of life that enables the cotton districts to grow cotton so extensively.

I will just mention the line again. The line which we are talking is not the main Godavery all the way; but it goes as far as the junction with the Wurdah, and then follows the line of the Wurdah, not only because this country on both sides of the Godavery belongs to Hyderabad while the Wurdah leads up to the Nagpore country, but also because the fall of the Wurdah is the least, and it is the most practicable line of navigation. I will mention two or three leading points in connection with the question. One is, that the only port in the whole of the peninsula except Bombay, where there is comparatively perfect shelter, is this port of Cocanada, at the mouth

of the river. There is practically no shelter for a vessel all the way from Calcutta to Bombay; so that this port is exactly situated where it is most required, that is, as an outlet for this country which is now called the Central Provinces, the seat of Government being at Nagpore. As to this port, I have made particular inquiries, and never could ascertain that a single vessel had ever been lost in it, which cannot be said even of Calcutta or of Bombay; for multitudes of vessels have been lost at both these places. Another point is, that there has been lately discovered quite good coal both on the Wurdah and near Coringa, and to make Cocanada a coaling-port is one of the most important points that we wish to gain, as there is no coaling-port whatever now in the Bay of Bengal.

This main line being established, it can be extended to the west coast by the line of the Poorna and the Taptee. It can also be extended to the north into the Nerbudda, which is now navigable to some extent, and may be made navigable for several hundred miles.

We are now examining the upper line of the main Godavery, where there is one great difficulty, namely: on 60 miles of it there is a heavy fall of about 9 feet a-mile; and, strange to say, that part of the river has never yet been examined by an engineer with a view to anything being done with it. The Nizam has lately provided money at Sir Richard Temple's instance to examine that river; and no doubt it can be opened to a fair extent, so as to carry the navigation up to the Western Ghaut.

Of course in the question of irrigation the question of navigation is necessarily involved. For the complete navigation of this river we must store water, because there is a very small flow of water in it in the dry season; and if we store water in large reservoirs at different parts of the river, we not only complete the navigation in the dry season, but we have the water available for irrigation; and there are some very extensive tracts here which may be well irrigated, and which can be done in connection with the navigation of the river.

There is one other point that I should mention, which is, that the whole of this tract suffers most of all India from the want of salt. To people who have meat to eat, the want of salt is by no means so great an evil as to those who live entirely on vegetable diet. When I first went up this river in a steamer, at every large village we stopped to let the people see the steamer, and greatly astonished at it they were, but the first remark which almost every one of them made was, "Will you bring us salt?" It really seemed as if they dreamt of salt. Living on vegetable diet, as they do, salt is an article of paramount necessity with them, and the enormous tax (3000 per cent.) and the enormous cost of carriage leave those people in a great measure deprived of it. A great portion of the population cannot afford to use anything like the quantity of salt they require. The salt alone that would be required to supply this tract would be 90,000 tons a-year (there are unlimited means of manufacturing salt on the coast on the Delta), and the whole of that would be necessarily carried on this line of communication. On that single item alone you would have 90,000 tons carried up as soon as it could be carried sufficiently cheaply, and the people were sufficiently enriched by trade to be able to purchase it. I will not go farther into detail about that; I only wish to go over the leading points in connection with the question.

I should mention also the state of the works. There are three barriers; that is to say, rocky places crossing the river with a very heavy fall over them—one is here (*pointing to the map*), one a little below the junction of the Wurdah, and the other a little way up the Wurdah. At the first one they have completed a weir across the river; it is about 2000 yards broad there. They have completed the weir, and cut the canal round a distance of 4 miles, which carries the navigation to the bottom of the main barrier, and there are locks there, so as to let the navigation into the river at that point; but 20 miles below that the river is a good deal interrupted by rocks, and Major Haig is now carrying on the canal the other 24 miles, but in the meantime he is improving the bed of the river, so that steamers can go up to that point, 4 miles below the head of the canal, and pass round the barrier that carries them to the foot of the second barrier, 220 miles from the sea; and last year he did take both steamers and boats round the barrier in this way, and he thinks that the works will be completed by June this year, so as to be open all the year for steamers and boats to go round it. He is now at work at the second barrier, doing the same thing, throwing a weir across it and carrying a canal round it; and he has got orders to examine and give an estimate in detail for the third barrier works, and

also to examine the Wein Gunga, the branch from the north, falling into the Wurdah, which, no doubt, can be made navigable up to Nagpore. The works have been continually interrupted, small supplies of money have been given and withdrawn, and they have been continually hampered about it, and what is now going on is being done under the immediate instructions of the India Office. The Government of India on the spot were very much opposed to the whole project, and they thought it a very doubtful thing indeed, but the Home authorities have insisted that it should be carried on, and all is being now done that Major Haig, who is in charge of the works, thinks can be well done at present—that is, the actual works at the second barrier, a full examination of the third barrier, an examination of the country, and forming estimates for large reservoirs for a supply of water. I think that that is all that need be said at present to give a general view of the position in which the works stand.

I may now say a few words about water-carriage generally. The ground I take up is, that no railways can possibly carry the great traffic of a great country. They do not in any country in the world at this moment carry the great traffic of the country. In England the great traffic is carried by water to this day—by rivers and canals, but chiefly by the coast; and in America the great traffic of the country is absolutely stopped during the whole time of the frost. When the Erie Canal and the St. Lawrence Canal are shut up by frost the traffic is not carried on by railway; it is stopped entirely, and waits for five months, till the water transit is open—not that there is not some traffic; but the great mass of the traffic is carried by water. Therefore whatever is done in the way of railroads, we still absolutely require a complete system of water transit for all India, just the same as if there was not a mile of common road or railway in the country. To show this, I may mention that the cost of the carriage of cotton from the Deccan to Calcutta by railway is 18*l.* a-ton at this moment, which is six times the cost of carrying it on from Calcutta to England, and anybody can see that a charge of that sort, in any country, must effectually stop $\frac{1}{6}$ ths of the traffic that would otherwise be carried. I see a gentleman here who has farmed land in the delta of the Godavery, and I should like, if the Chairman approves of it, to hear what he says as a gentleman speaking from the point of view of a native, he being a gentleman employed in the ordinary cultivation carried on by natives in the irrigated country.

Mr. BOWDEN stated that for the last twelve years he had been engaged in the cultivation of rice and other productions in the Godavery district, so that he was able himself to speak of the value of the irrigation works, and also to give the views of the natives upon the subject. He could confidently state that the view of all the cultivators was, that it was by those works alone that their district was saved from that famine which prevailed in other parts of India, and especially Orissa, in 1865-6. In that year not only were they able to provide sufficient food for the wants of their own district, but they were able to export to other districts of India 12,000 tons of rice, that result being due entirely to the irrigation works, as far as they had been carried on, for they were not yet completed, though twenty years had elapsed since they were commenced. The difference that existed between a district where irrigation works had been carried out and one where no such works had been to any extent completed, was very remarkable. In irrigated districts the land was productive even in the hottest season, and there was plenty and prosperity, while in unirrigated districts the country was desolate and barren, and there was nothing there but ruin. Where the land was irrigated early in the season, 1600 lbs. of paddy per acre would be about the average yield, while on unirrigated land as little as 400 lbs. per acre would be gathered. The subject of drainage, which in the view of agriculturists in India was a matter next in importance to irrigation, had been sadly neglected. The main lines of canal had intercepted the natural drainage of the country, and consequently all over the district there were thousands of acres of land covered with shallow water, and so thrown out of cultivation; and moreover at the commencement of the dry season the decomposition of the organic matter in those shallow waters spread disease all around, and mortality was caused among the cattle through their feeding on the watery grasses, whole herds having been swept away by disease arising from that cause. At this present moment, though 800,000 acres were supposed to be under the influence of the works in the Godavery district, not half of that number of acres were really receiving the benefit of the irrigation works, getting either too much or too little water. The water which was brought to the canals was being wasted in large quantities on account of there not being a sufficient network of minor canals

to distribute the water. Every cubic foot of water represented a money value, and every acre of land which could not be cultivated was a loss to the district of at least 1200 lbs. of rice, and a loss of 8s. per acre water-rate, and 4s. per acre land-tax, to the Government, making an annual loss to Government of 12s. per acre for every 1000 cubic yards of water at present wasted. Considering the famines prevailing from time to time over India, it was of the most vital importance that the water should be economized and utilized. As soon as the works were finished in the Godavery district, 400,000 more acres would be capable of being brought under irrigation. In those districts where there was a proper amount of irrigation, the cultivation of the rice-crop commenced in March, while in those districts where there was no irrigation the rice-crop was entirely dependent on the monsoon, and therefore all the holding could not be brought into cultivation. The great feature in irrigation works was the quantity of water which they could distribute in the dry season. In districts where there was no irrigation he had seen villages almost deserted, the villagers being obliged to drive their herds away, seeking water in other districts. It was of great importance that the distribution of water should be equal over the whole surface of the country. The rate charged for water was the same, whether supplied in the month of March or in the month of August—in the one case 1600 lbs. of paddy per acre would be about the average yield, while in the other case it would be only about 800 lbs. With reference to navigation, the canals had been the means of increasing the exports from the district in a most remarkable manner. Some ten or fifteen years since the exports from Cocanada amounted to only 56,000*l.*, while in 1865-6 they amounted to 800,000*l.*, this increase being due in the first place to facilities afforded for production, and secondly to the facilities of transit to the coast. In 1866, 3000 tons of cotton were brought from Bezwaraha to Cocanada by canals, a distance of 135 miles; had it not been for the canals not a quarter of that quantity could have been brought. But the canals were not kept in the order in which they should be kept, so as to give the full benefit of them to the country. Every now and then they were stopped, and not unfrequently for six weeks at a time, and mostly at a season when they were much in demand. He had known ships in the roads of Cocanada waiting for five months for cargoes which had been purchased in the interior, and he had known boats laden with produce having to wait for two months, not being able to go a distance of 40 miles. If the canals were kept in proper order, and if facilities were afforded for the equal distribution of the water in the dry season over the land, we should in a few years hence see the 800,000*l.* worth of exports doubled, for the district was quite capable of producing it. In consequence of the neglected state of the canals, the area of land brought under cultivation was every year diminishing instead of increasing. In a country like India, where the vegetation was rank, the canals soon became overgrown with weeds, which, with the silt brought down by the canals, choked up the navigation. He had seen canals 5 yards wide so choked up in that way that a person could walk across without wetting his shoes. This was owing in the first place to the engineers having too large a district to attend to; and in the second place, to the money allotted for the purpose of maintaining the lands being inadequate for the purpose. The Government charged 8s. an acre water-rate, while 6*d.* an acre was all that was devoted to keeping the works in order. He thought that there ought to be an inspector appointed, who should be enabled to give to the Government an account of the true state of the irrigation works annually; it being impossible at present to obtain information on the state of the works. He thought that the state of the public works generally throughout India was a matter calling for the appointment of a Royal Commission. One important consideration in connection with the water question was the utilization of the water as motive power, there being at the locks on the canals a large body of water which was now wasted. Owing to the introduction of irrigation works the cultivation of the sugar-cane and of garden produce had been very greatly extended. The average quantity of raw sugar at Jaggery exported in 1865 and 1866 was nearly 8000 tons per annum. Roads were very much required in connection with irrigation. At present every ton of produce brought to the canals from the interior of the district had to be brought by manual labour at an enormous cost, besides absorbing labour which would be otherwise utilized. In the Godavery district every 100 lbs. of produce carried a distance of 7 miles by a man cost 3*d.*, which was equal to about 6s. 7½*d.* a-ton; if proper roads were made it might be carried at a quarter of the expense.

Mr. CHISHOLM ANSTEE said that as this would probably be the last occasion on

which he should have the honour of appearing at any of the meetings of the Association, and as the adjournment took place at his suggestion, he availed himself of the opportunity of expressing his regret that such a valuable paper as that of Sir Arthur Cotton was not able to command a greater attendance. When a vote was to be taken on some sensational grievance, when the subject of discussion was place hunting for instance, a large number of native members attended, but to-night when the subject of the reclamation of the soil of India was to be discussed, putting the Parsees on one side, there was only one native present. [*Mr. Bonnerjee stated that there were two natives present.*] He, Mr. Anstey, in conjunction with others in Bombay, endeavoured in 1865-6 to turn the flood of speculation in the direction of useful undertakings, and they recommended amongst other things the carrying out of Sir Arthur Cotton's recommendations by means of private enterprise, but their efforts were in vain, preference being given to financial companies and such speculations which ended in the utter ruin, not only of the fortunes of monied people but of their characters. If such works as those proposed by Sir Arthur Cotton were ever to be carried out, it must be by pressing the Government to carry them out. He told the meeting on a former occasion (that which Sir Bartle Frere had since confirmed), that he had heard Sir Bartle Frere state that the whole of the desert of Scinde might, if proper irrigation works were undertaken, be turned into a blooming garden of Eden, without drawing a single bucket of water from the Indus, but by simply cooping up, and then dispersing judiciously the winter-torrents which now flow into waste, preventing them from falling on the one side and compelling them to run on the other. Ever since we had become possessors of Scinde there had been a series of projects before the Government for the reclamation of that vast desert, and they had all up to this moment been inoperative, because they all pre-supposed the formation of a company or companies of capitalists. Sir Bartle Frere had himself proposed that the Government should take it up, but the Government had not come forward. As another case in which the Government might be called on to utilize and improve natural facilities already existing, he referred to the back-water running nearly from Goa to Cape Comorin, which if utilized would not only supply a safe substitute for the dangerous coasting navigation, but would afford an easy access to the Ghauts. At very little expense it would be perfectly possible to navigate the whole of that water from Cape Comorin to Goa, the greater part of the distance being navigable already. He was not aware whether that water was salt or fresh, so as to be available for irrigation. With reference to the contrast between irrigated and non-irrigated parts of the same country, he referred to China, where that contrast did not exist, because in China every acre of land was cultivated, the land being irrigated either by the rough-wheel of the country, or by the simple process of dispersing the water from the trench by means of the foot. The consequence was that in China the mountain, the desert, and the sea-shore were being taken into cultivation more and more even to this day. The Government of China had not had the great benefit of our civilization and our example:—if it were a benefit, for he could not but regret that before any Europeans took possession of India, there were no less than 30,000 wells and tanks in the Carnatic, the whole of which had been dried up; and the Carnatic, which was once a fertile district, had become nothing but a waste. It was to be regretted that the natives of India had not taken up this matter for themselves, but as they had not, it had become necessary to press the Government to take it up. He looked forward to the time when the natives of India would govern India, not the Parsees, nor the Moguls, nor the Europeans, but the native races, the Hindoos, the Mahrattas, and the indigenous Mussulmans; and it would be a great misfortune if, before they began to talk about a change in the Government of their country, they should not have seen that they had a country to govern, instead of allowing it to run to waste and ruin. But that being so, the Government must act as their instructors. He objected to irrigation and other works being carried on by English capitalists or by any foreigners, because by doing so a foreign feudal aristocracy was created. If the natives of India themselves were to confer benefits on the soil of India, they ought also to receive the profit of those benefits; and the Government was the only machinery by which to secure, first of all, a due prosecution of enterprises for conferring those benefits on the soil; and next, a fair and just distribution and application of the profits; and therefore he hoped that the Association would feel that there was no hope whatever of a successful issue of works of the kind suggested by Sir Arthur Cotton, or even of a promising experiment, unless the Government could be induced to begin.

Mr. FLEMING said there could be no doubt of the importance of taking advantage of the natural facilities offered by the Godavery, but he thought Sir Arthur Cotton did harm to his cause by disparaging railways, for there was room for both railways and canals in India. Railways had not only cheapened the cost of carriage in India, but they delivered produce in a much better condition. Sir Arthur Cotton in his paper alluded to the possibility of opening up communication with the Western Coast by way of Carwar, but he, Mr. Fleming, thought that such anticipations were calculated to do harm to the cause Sir Arthur Cotton advocated, there being natural obstructions to bringing a canal down the ghats to Carwar, which, though they might not be insurmountable by engineering, were insurmountable in an economical point of view. He begged to correct a slight error made by Sir Arthur Cotton, *viz.* that Hingunghaut cotton was worth as much as the best American upland cotton, the fact being that Hingunghaut cotton was worth 1½d. or 2d. a-pound less than middling Orleans. Sir Arthur Cotton had also said that taking the lower portion of the Peninsula, with the exception of Bombay, there was only one other safe port, *viz.* Cocanada, but he had forgotten Karwar, a port just rising into notice, and where during the Monsoon last July, a ship loaded its cargo and sailed away with the greatest ease and facility.

Mr. BONNERJEE, in answer to the remarks of Mr. Chisholm Anstey lamenting the want of interest taken on this subject by the natives themselves, said that the subject had for a long time been agitated and ventilated by the native vernacular papers in India; and it was because the Government had always turned a deaf ear to their representations that (though they had not desisted from their endeavours to make the Government listen to them) they had not taken up the subject with that degree of zeal which they otherwise would have done. As to there being only two natives present, the fact was that there were only three native members resident in England. Ever since the disastrous famine in Orissa the native papers had given the greatest prominence to the subject of irrigation. With regard to railway transit as contrasted with canal transit, it was to be borne in mind that railways could not carry water to those parts of the country which stood in need of it, and moreover canals could be made at a cheaper rate than railways; therefore, seeing how much some districts suffered for want of water, the advisable course seemed to be to press forward on the Government the construction of canals as much as possible. It was not to be expected that the Hindoos themselves could take any practical steps in the matter. All they could do was to point out to the Government what they considered ought to be done.

Mr. NEALE PORTER hoped that Sir Arthur Cotton in his schemes for irrigation had borne in mind the sanitary point; for in the north-west of India the natives, whether rightly or wrongly, attributed a great deal of the disease there existing to the canals and to the stagnation of the water. He called Sir Arthur Cotton's attention to Mr. Hunter's 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' in which, referring to the famines of 1770, 1837, and 1866, the author spoke with great respect of the useful results of mercantile enterprise, and of the non-official element in India. With respect to what Mr. Anstey had said about China, he (Mr. Porter), from what he had seen of China, could bear witness to the industry and the economy of cultivation in that country; but it was unfair to compare China with Scinde, China being very densely populated, and Scinde having an extremely sparse population. He asked whether the choking of the canals by weeds was owing to the neglect of the Government officers.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON stated that it was owing to the utter inadequacy of the funds devoted to the purpose.

Mr. NEALE PORTER further remarked with regard to the Government undertaking such works, that it was to be borne in mind how vast the empire of India was, and what an enormous work the Government had to carry on; and it was worth consideration whether the Government of the different Presidencies ought not to have far greater power given them than they had at present with regard to the expenditure of money.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, having expressed his regret at Mr. Anstey's intention to withdraw from the Association, said that he had always whenever he had an opportunity advocated the carrying out of public works, because he considered that the good and the prosperity of the people mainly depended upon them. Though the Government were always acknowledging as strongly as possible the necessity of these irrigation works, there was always some difficulty being raised in their being carried out, and between different views the thing was not done at all. He thought that even the waste on the part of the Government of a million or more of revenue on

irrigation works would be well laid out, if it had the effect of preserving the lives and property of the natives of India. Whether it was done by loans, as had been done in the case of railways, or in some other way, the work ought to be done as soon as possible. Moreover, the work ought to be taken up and proceeded with on a great scale and on a scheme settled beforehand, instead of beginning part of the work and stopping it, and then having to begin again at the beginning. With regard to the question of railways *versus* canals, he did not understand Sir Arthur Cotton to disparage railways, but to say that the great traffic of a country like India, which was heavy traffic, could never be fully carried by railways, even if carried cheaply; and that therefore water-transit was of the utmost importance. No doubt it would be a long time before India would be fit to govern itself and to develop its resources. In the meantime the British Government must be the hand to undertake great public works, the means of carrying them out being provided by raising loans. The result of a judicious expenditure of the capital so raised would be, as Mr. Bowden had told the meeting, to cause plenty and prosperity where there would otherwise be barrenness and ruin. If irrigation works yielded only a fair, or even a small profit, instead of yielding as they did a very large percentage, it would be incumbent on the Government to push them forward, especially bearing in mind the famines under which from time to time India suffered. Though in the height of the speculations of 1865-66, which undoubtedly turned the heads not only of natives but also of Europeans, wealth flowed into Bombay, the people of India, as a body, were poor, and could not be expected to provide the funds necessary for carrying out public works on a large scale—they could only be carried out by the Government. He hoped that some steps would be taken by the Association towards bringing before the Government the desirableness of pushing forward such works, with a view not only to developing the resources of India, but to the saving of human life and property.

CHAIRMAN.—With the indulgence of the meeting I may be, perhaps, allowed, before Sir Arthur Cotton rises to reply, to perform an agreeable duty to me, and I am sure that I shall be echoing the feelings of all those present, when I tender to him our hearty thanks for the most interesting paper which he has completed this evening. There is no man, I am quite sure, either in India or out of India, who, from his long experience and great talents, is more capable of treating as it should be treated this great subject of public works than Sir Arthur Cotton. I therefore beg to tender him, on behalf of the meeting, our cordial thanks. If it is not asking too much, as this is the first time I have had the pleasure of being within these walls, perhaps you will pardon me making one or two observations, and I assure you they shall be very few, upon this subject; and I wish to address those observations to you as the representatives of a great commercial community. I assure you with sincerity that I am an ardent well-wisher to the people of India. On the formation of this Association, I felt that it was calculated to fill a great void in this country. We the British public were placed in a very difficult position in regard to India. The way in which Indian matters are dealt with in England is due not so much to the want of interest on the part of the people of England, but it is the want of knowledge of India—and we were placed, until this Association was formed, in this position; we had only two sources of information open to us, we had either the European press of India (for the native press of course is a sealed book to Englishmen), or we had the Government official documents to guide us. Both those sources of information I have always felt, having given some little attention to Indian matters since I have been in Parliament, to be in some respects defective, for as to the first source of information, though I speak with deference upon this subject, I have heard it stated by eminent authorities that the English press of India has not at all times been remarkable for its accuracy. Apart from that, we know that in any country the press is too apt to represent cliques and coteries, and it is only by a careful comparison, even in England, of the views expressed through the public press, that one can arrive at the truth. As to the other source of information, namely, Government official documents—we all know what Government official documents are—they are framed to support and advance the Government's own views upon the particular subjects. We do not so much care in England to know what the Government thinks, but we want to know what the natives of India think upon the great questions affecting India. It appears to me that the legitimate function of this Association is to open its arms to the latest arrivals from India, both official persons and intelligent and highly-educated natives, of whom I am bound to say we have admirable specimens.

amongst us to-night. This is of essential importance to this country, and I look to the action of this Association to instruct the people of England. I am quite sure as soon as its existence becomes more generally known, that we shall have large accessions to its numbers, and increased value attached to its discussions. A gentleman to-night, I thought, very unnecessarily offered an apology for speaking, as he said, in opposition to some of the views that had been advanced. It appears to me that the very essence of the value of Associations of this kind is opposition—you must have differences of opinion, and differences of opinion expressed in order to arrive at the truth; we ought to invite the expression of different opinions, and I trust that gentlemen will always express their views, whether they may differ from others or not. Now upon the subject immediately before us, I will only say a word or two. This great subject of public works in India is, I am convinced, of the first importance to that country, and I take the upshot of this discussion to be that the Government requires to be stimulated in this matter. Remember that it is the duty of Parliament to press on the Government in this matter—and without the information which this Association is so well calculated to disseminate, you will not be able to bring public opinion to bear sufficiently upon individual Members of Parliament. I know enough of Governments, and especially of departments charged with the finances of the country, to know that it is extremely difficult to induce them to relax the purse-strings; but when we hear gentlemen of the experience of Sir Arthur Cotton coming and telling us the actual results of works of this kind, which he himself has been instrumental in constructing, when we have that knowledge and those facts before us, it becomes our duty as Members of Parliament to put a pressure upon the Government in the interests of the people of India. There is a very old aphorism in this country, namely, that property has its duties as well as its rights. I want to know if that trite saying can apply with greater force, in any sense, than to the great landholders of India, namely, the Government. I am glad to gather to-night that it is the opinion of most of the speakers that these works ought to be carried on by the Government. I believe from the peculiar circumstances of the tenure of land in India, the Government being the sole rent-receivers and landholders, that those works can be carried out with a greater prospect of success by the Government than by private companies, and I have heard that opinion entertained to-night. I say that, speaking on behalf of the English nation, because the great advantage of an Association like this is, that we are brought into contact with Indian gentlemen, and we can correspond together and compare the views of the English and the natives of India; and I say that it is a duty which we owe alike to India and to ourselves, to push forward the public works in that country for the purpose of increasing the productive powers of the country, which I believe are absolutely unlimited. It seems to me that by means of these great works of irrigation, causing an improved cultivation of the soil, we shall bring about that which really would tend to cement the two countries together more than anything else—I mean an interchange of trade. I look to the improved cultivation of the soil as that which will increase the resources of that wonderfully rich country to a degree of which no man has any conception, and by that mutual interchange of trade we shall bind the two countries together, and equally advance the interests of England and India. I am almost ashamed to have trespassed so long upon your time; I will conclude by moving a vote of thanks to Sir Arthur Cotton for his instructive and most interesting and able paper.

Mr. BONNERJEE suggested the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. CHISHOLM ANSTREY thought that the only effect of adjourning it would be to show a third proof of the little interest taken in the question.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—I will with your permission make a few observations in reply to what has been said by the various speakers. First of all, as to the state of the works, the state of things is simply this: while the works are yielding 270,000*l.* a-year in increase of revenue, the Government will not allow 15,000*l.* to keep them in repair: that is the whole history of that matter. The Government at Calcutta says, "We can give 1,000,000*l.* for public works." That is divided between the Presidencies; Madras gets, say, 100,000*l.* The Governor of Madras says, "I can give 5000*l.* to this district and 10,000*l.* to that," and it ends in works which have cost half-a-million, and which are yielding 270,000*l.* a-year actual increase of revenue to the Government, not being kept in repair. I believe, as Mr. Bowden said, 6*d.* an acre would just about keep them in thorough repair; and for want of that 6*d.* an acre—when the Government are getting 8*s.* an acre—the works are going actually to ruin. This is a shocking

state of things, and it is a state of things that would not exist if a company were carrying out those irrigation works; they would never let them go to ruin in that manner. I beg pardon for leaving out the port of Karwar, of which Mr. Fleming has reminded me. It is strange that I should have done so, because I take a great interest in it, and I consider it one of the most important features in India at present, —I should have said from Calcutta to Karwar, not from Calcutta to Bombay. With respect to communication with Karwar, it is perfectly practicable.

MR. NEALE PORTER.—Have you any observations to make upon the sanitary point?

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—First of all, in the Madras Presidency, the old irrigated district of Tanjore, though imperfectly drained, has been totally free from epidemics ever since we have had it, which is sixty or seventy years; and in the Godavery, though Mr. Bowden has spoken of some sickness, it is not a sickly district by any means. By far the greater part of the sickness he speaks of is owing to the works not being finished—not only not kept in repair, but not completed. They have spent 500,000*l.* upon them, and 100,000*l.* is wanting to complete the drainage and to extend the irrigation to districts which the water has not yet reached. We have been asking for the expenditure of that additional amount for ten years, worrying the Government to expend it, and they will not, though they will give eight or ten millions a-year for the railways.

MR. NEALE PORTER.—Do you include drainage works in the estimate for the irrigation?

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—Yes; the most complete drainage of every acre. As to the natives learning from us, it is a most remarkable fact, that all our success in irrigation in Madras has been simply because we learned from the old native works how to carry them out. The sole cause of the failure of the Ganges Canal, in a money point of view, has been because they had not those old native works to go by. With respect to pressing the matter on the Government, I should observe that Mr. Kinnaird has given notice of his intention to move for a Select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into this subject of irrigation, and I trust that it will be appointed. With respect to railways, I have said nothing against railways; I merely said that they could not carry the great traffic of the country. One railway may carry 80,000 tons of goods, another may carry 50,000, but we want to carry 5,000,000 tons. No railway can carry that. The great traffic of the country must go by water, or not go at all. It is the same in every country. The course which the Government takes upon this matter is the most unaccountable thing in the world—it seems perfectly incredible. Sir Charles Wood has said to me when I have spoken to him about it, "It is very well for you to talk about the necessity of these works, you do not find the money;" while at that moment the Government thought nothing of making themselves liable to 5,000,000*l.*, 8,000,000*l.*, or 10,000,000*l.* for railways, with no prospect of the interest being paid. Though they could do that, they could not give 100,000*l.* to complete the irrigation works upon the Godavery. I write to the India Office and complain of this, and they write back, sending me a blue book, and saying, "How can you say the authorities are against these works; look at the blue book, containing a dozen reports speaking of the absolute necessity of these things, and the great difficulties connected with carrying them out." My reply is, "What do you do with the railways? you do not send them a blue book." Nobody writes about the necessity of railways, but the Government sends an order to the City for five millions of money, not a word being written or said about it. When I press upon them the necessity of carrying out the irrigation works, they say, "What can you require more? here is a blue book about irrigation."

MR. NEALE PORTER.—Railways move troops rapidly, that is the reason of it.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—I wish they could carry them as effectively as canals could.

CHAIRMAN.—In justice to the Government of India I should like to ask any gentleman well acquainted with the finances of India whether he remembers what was the amount put down in the last financial statement which came home, on account of public works. My recollection is that it was considerable, though no doubt the Government are proceeding upon a principle, which I think is a bad one, of attempting to carry out these works out of revenue. I have always thought that by a large and liberal system of loans (hear, hear), the burden of which ought to be spread over posterity, as the advantage is for all time, those works should be hurried on.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—I cannot state the amount, but the point of the matter is

this, what is given is given without the slightest reference to what is wanted; that is to say, the Government of Madras is not asked, "How much money do you require to keep your works in repair?" so that they could adjust the budget by it; but they adjust the budget first, and then they say, "We have given you 100,000*l.*, whether your works go to ruin or not." Then the Governor of Madras says, "All I can spare for the Godavery is 15,000*l.*," while 30,000*l.*, perhaps, is wanted to keep the works in repair.

On the motion of Mr. Bonnerjee, seconded by Dadabhai Naoroji, a vote of thanks was passed unanimously to the Chairman.

MEETING, TUESDAY, JUNE 9, 1868.

WILLIAM DENT, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman, in introducing Miss Carpenter to the meeting, read a letter from Sir Bartle Frere to Miss Carpenter, regretting his inability to be present.

The following Paper was read by Miss CARPENTER :—

Education and Reformatory Treatment.

It is with great pleasure that I comply with the request so kindly made to me by some friends, to lay before this important Association some of the results of my recent visit to India.

When I undertook the passage to that distant country, I was stimulated by an ardent desire not only to convey to the female part of the Hindoo community a token of the sympathy of an Englishwoman—but that had already been done by multitudes of devoted persons from our British Isles—but to endeavour to ascertain what was especially wanting to make female education more efficient, and more acceptable to enlightened Hindoos, than it has hitherto been. On my return home, then, I have felt it a duty not only to convey to my countrywomen the assurance that in every part of the empire which I visited I found that our sympathy, when offered freely, is gladly responded to by Hindoo ladies, but to point out the kind of help which enlightened native gentlemen desire to obtain for the improvement of female education.

This very important subject, however, proved not to be the only one, or even the chief, which occupied my attention in India. On arriving in the Bombay Presidency, where my works on Reformatory Treatment and Prison Discipline ('Our Convicts,' 'Juvenile Delinquents,' &c.) were known, I at once received an official communication permitting me free access to public institutions, and expressing a desire for my opinions on those subjects to which I had turned my attention, and which have received earnest discussion at home. Henceforth these were the special object of my investigations during the six months which I spent in India. Having the advantage of being free from all conflicting interests, either connected with business or pleasure, my mind was at leisure to give itself to these subjects, and to observe their relation to those at home, in their changed aspect in this new clime and country; while my long practical study of human nature in its various phases enabled me to understand the needs and condition of a different race more easily than I could otherwise have done. With these explanations, I shall, I trust, escape the imputation, on the one hand, of presumption in venturing to offer my opinion respecting institutions in a distant empire; or on the other, of superficial knowledge, owing to so brief a residence in the country.

I must also ask kind indulgence and a candid hearing from those gentlemen here present who may have spent many years in India at some past period. The changes which have taken place in that country during the past ten or even five years, and which are now constantly occurring, are rapid and wonderful, since English education and the easy communication produced by railroads have brought British and Hindoo minds and characters into greater proximity, and have, by their wide-spread influence, shaken the foundations of dense ignorance. Those who knew the country before these had exerted the mighty power which they are now doing, still more those who

were acquainted with the east and not the west of our great Indian empire, will not, I trust, feel sceptical if I state things very different from their own experience, or if I entertain hopes of progress which in former times would not have been entertained.

After these preliminary remarks, I may venture to state some points which appeared to me important in connection with the first subject,—EDUCATION.

It is unnecessary for me here to enter into any detailed account of the state of education in India, having given a general, though brief, account of its present position in my work recently published. Suffice it to say that I was everywhere surprised and rejoiced to see what had been done to promote enlightened education by the British Government, and to perceive how those efforts had been responded to by the superior portion of the population. Whether I observed the handsome and commodious buildings erected by the Government for the High Schools and Colleges,—the superior English gentlemen filling offices in the department of public instruction,—the intelligent and well-trained native masters,—the admirable series of books prepared to give the pupils the best specimens of European thought and language, and to carry them on progressively through a well-devised course of instruction, or the numbers of orderly well-conducted students who eagerly flocked to avail themselves of the advantages held out to them,—everything revealed a great work going on which is producing a radical change in the country. Having made so much progress, it behoves us to endeavour to discover if the results indicate any deficiency in the system which has been adopted and any improvements which may be made. In our own country we are never satisfied with what has been done, we are always aspiring to something better. The public is beginning to suspect that the system adopted in our time-honoured public schools is not what it should be in all respects. Those who have enlightened views of what education ought to be do not believe that a complete and thorough knowledge of the classics of Greece and Rome is sufficient to prepare the human mind for life's work;—the whole theory of education is considered, and public opinion exercises itself on the important subject. Now a system of education has been arranged for India, founded on what was considered good in England, modified indeed to meet the different requirements of the country with regard to the study of languages, but based on the same general idea; that is, of developing the intellectual powers only. Those form, however, only one portion of the whole being. True education should embrace all the faculties and powers which the Creator has given us. In our islands the home supplies a large part, and that a most valuable one, of those influences which form the character. The school-boy, and even the advanced student of our colleges and universities, requires no stimulus to induce him to engage in such athletic sports as develop and strengthen the physical powers, while the tastes and pleasures of refined society awaken the æsthetic talents, and help to complete the true development of the British youth.

In India the position of the rising generation is unhappily very different. Judging from the printed testimonies of the natives of the country, as well as from what fell under my own personal knowledge, the homes do not give that preparatory training which is so great an advantage to young English boys;—there is no desire among them for that physical development which would make athletic exercises a delight, and society does not present those attractions of a refining æsthetic nature which would excite the latent powers of the young. Besides all this, though in some parts of the country a few attempts are being made in the principal cities to afford instructive recreation to the young, yet there are seldom to be found, if indeed that is ever the case, those Museums, Athenæums, Lecture Halls, not to speak of the endless exhibitions and institutions of this wonderful capital, which draw forth the faculties of the young, and awaken in them a thirst for useful knowledge.

The present system of Government education in India has a tendency, then, it appears to me, to give an exclusive and excessive stimulus to the intellectual powers alone of the young Hindoo, and thus to defeat to some extent the very object for which it is intended,—the improvement of the nation. In Calcutta, where the educational system is very highly developed, an experienced native educator complains, in his address to the Bengal Social Science Association, that “the mind of the student is overlaid with such an immense quantity of undigested learning, that little or no room is left for its unfettered action,” and that he is satisfied, “from a pretty extensive observation, that the mental learning imparted by the old Hindoo College was more healthy than that of the University.”

Without venturing, however, to offer any opinion on this subject or on the Colleges,

I must state that the general routine in the schools, both Government and native, intended for the young, does not appear to me calculated to supply that general education of which I have spoken, which is equally important to the welfare of the individual with the course of purely intellectual training intended to prepare him for his matriculation examination. In many good schools which I visited, young boys, who in our country would have received the lively and practical training of our Infant School system, were crowded together without any varied or entertaining instruction, and were straining their young powers with the mysteries of Bengali grammar or some equally uninteresting study. Most rarely did any diagrams, illustrative pictures, or objects of natural history grace the walls:—nowhere did I find practical lessons on natural science form part of the course; drawing appeared never to be attempted in the schools, though the delicacy and accuracy with which maps and illuminated writing were executed by scholars showed what artistic talent might have been elicited from them. Though on some occasions a few individuals executed elaborated pieces of Indian vocal music, which showed much native genius, singing was never taught to the schools, a most valuable branch of education being thus entirely neglected. No wonder then, with the powers given by the Creator only partially developed, the mental food so liberally bestowed remains undigested, and does not, as intended, become absorbed into a healthy intellectual being. The mental strain caused by long hours of study is not, as in England, relieved by physical action. Nowhere except in Bombay did I ever hear of games, or athletic sports or gymnastic exercises among the older or the younger students. The usual hours of school, from ten to four, with an hour's recess, being in the hottest part of day, would render these impossible in the interval of school, while the bodily lassitude caused by long intellectual efforts prevents any inclination for exercise in the cool mornings or evenings. This distaste for physical exertion is of course attributable in part to the climate; also to peculiarity in the race, as well as to native prejudice against what is regarded as undignified; these are not, however, insurmountable difficulties. The Martiniere School at Calcutta, which is under English management, is an endowed school for giving a superior education to young Christians, without distinction of race. Europeans, Eurasians, and Hindoos, there mingle in perfect harmony. My visits to the Institution was unfortunately during the holidays, and I did not therefore see it in operation, but I was assured by the serjeant who had the superintendence of the gymnastic exercises and sports that the Hindoo boys engaged in them with as much zest and alacrity as any others.

The suggestions which I would respectfully offer for the improvement of general education are then, as follows:—

First.—That a training, corresponding to our infant system, should be introduced into the Branch or Preparatory Schools, to develop in the young the various powers of observation and discrimination, and to awaken a delight in knowledge.

Secondly.—That physical training should form a part of all school routine, two half-hours at different times being allotted to it, under professional direction. A degree of skill would be thus attained which would afterwards render such exercise agreeable.

Thirdly.—That lessons or lectures should be given in every High School on Physical and Natural History, with illustrations and experiments, so as to teach the scholars not only words but things; to lead them not only to learn the expression of the thoughts of others, but to think for themselves.

Fourthly.—That music and drawing should, if possible, be taught scientifically in all schools, and occupy a portion of each day's curriculum.

Two objections will probably be at once made to the adoption of these suggestions, however much they may approve themselves to the judgment. If an average period of two hours a-day is devoted to physical training, general knowledge, and æsthetic instruction, the hours of study in preparation for matriculation, or obtaining a Government post, will be so much curtailed; that great dissatisfaction will be felt by both parents and scholars at being deprived of what is of pecuniary value, for a mere luxury. It is answered that experience has universally proved in our country that change of occupation refreshes and quickens the powers; and that a half-time system, vigorously carried out, will produce greater results in a given period, than when double the time is occupied with wearied faculties.

The other difficulty will arise from the increase of expense, in obtaining special instructors. This will of course be at first great, but if one teacher is engaged for

several schools, and instructs a large number of scholars, it will not be much in each. It is only at the commencement that the pecuniary burden need be much felt, if the students in all Normal Schools are required to gain sufficient practical knowledge in these departments to become afterward instructors wherever located. At any rate, those who really desire to improve the Hindoo race through the rising generation, will not allow pecuniary considerations to stand in the way of doing the work well.

The education here spoken of, that which is provided by the Government for India, at present respects the higher classes only. These having now recognized the importance of it for themselves, it is to be hoped that efforts will henceforth be made to provide what will reach the lower classes. This will be a more difficult and more expensive undertaking. Special schools will be required for them, adapted to their needs, for though the Government schools are nominally open to all without distinction, yet in India, as in England, they neither can nor will attend them. It is evident, however, that the country cannot emerge from its dense ignorance until the masses are somewhat penetrated by education. The rapid improvement produced by a good school in a low population was strikingly shown me at Madras, where the Director had established an excellent school in a Mahomedan district, inhabited by poor hereditary pensioners, whose children sprang up in ignorance and idleness. It was an arduous work to surmount long-established habits of apathy and indolence; but the perseverance of enlightened instructors surmounted all difficulties. I had the pleasure of seeing a large school full of regular and intelligent scholars, where a few years before it had appeared a hopeless task to induce any to accept the proffered boon of education. Similar results would doubtless flow elsewhere from the establishment of good schools, adapted to the wants of such children as cannot and do not attend schools at present. These will necessarily be much more expensive than such as are intended for the children of persons able to pay a school fee, and who are enlightened enough to know that money so spent is a good investiture of capital. But our Government well understands the enormous evil and cost to a state of ignorance and barbarism, and will look to a higher return for its expenditure than mere emolument. It is true that in our country the Government has not yet recognized its own duty towards the neglected and ignorant, unless they fall under its immediate care as paupers or criminals. It has remained satisfied hitherto with leaving the charge of their education in the care of voluntary benevolence. But for more than twenty years that charge has been cheerfully accepted, and earnestly though inadequately discharged by Christian men and women, who recognize no distinctions of birth or station among the children of their common Father,—who know no claim but that of want. In India there appears to be as yet no part of the native population prepared thus to undertake this work, since all their energies are necessarily absorbed by advancing their own improvement. The Missionaries are doing all that lies in their power to promote education, really without distinction of caste; but their means are limited, and if they were not, it is evident that the Government of India could not, consistently with its own principles, depute its work to them. If it is to be done at all it must be by direct Government action, encouraging all individual effort, as at present, by grants in aid, specially adapted to the wants of such schools. In one way the class might be at once reached with very little expense. Factories are springing up in various parts; factories for the preparation of coffee, cotton factories, and gunny bag factories fell under my special notice, and in all, many children, both boys and girls, were employed; in no one was there any regular instruction given, though in some cases I heard of its being contemplated. Let legislation on the subject be prepared without delay, similar to our own, but adapted to India, and with no expense to the Government, a grand step will have been taken towards the improvement of the lower classes of the population.

Female education has not yet been undertaken by the Government in India, because it is inseparably connected with the social customs of the natives, with which the Government does not interfere. The education which has extended among the male portion of the community has led them to feel the necessity of female education also, but an insuperable obstacle presents itself to its development in the want of female teachers. Testimonies without number have been borne to this by native gentlemen of education, both publicly and privately. A native judge has lately written to me on this subject from Ahmedabad, one of the most advanced cities in this respect which I saw in India. He states that fifteen years of effort in female education in that city have produced a very small effect on the population, because

the necessity of employing male teachers only has rendered the education quite inadequate to the wants of the young girls; they are obliged to leave usually at between ten and eleven years of age, to enter on domestic concerns, and the little they had learnt was soon forgotten. A letter brought to me by this mail from a young Brahmin lady, the wife of a native chief, conveys the pleasing intelligence that she and her husband have established a small girls' school on their estate, and that she has obtained an English governess for herself. She adds, "The want of proper female teachers is very sadly felt at present in India, and I hope and pray you will soon succeed in carrying out your scheme of Female Normal Schools. If India is to be regenerated, female education is, I consider, the most important agency to secure the object." The whole position of this question is stated in the second volume of my work, 'Six Months in India.' It is unnecessary to detain you therefore with further remark on this subject, except to say, that it is my intention to return to India early in the autumn, accompanied, if possible, by a few educated women who desire to prepare themselves to help their sisters in India, in such way as will be most in accordance with their wants. Though the work cannot be carried out to any extent without Government help, and though for many reasons this would be essential to the ultimate success of the scheme, yet it appears best to commence on a voluntary and tentative plan, while strictly conforming to the Government principle of non-interference in religion. I trust that sufficient aid will be afforded to the undertaking in England, to enable me to develop it so completely as to show its practicability when the Government are prepared to undertake it. I am fully assured of the great anxiety of enlightened natives in various parts of the empire to obtain female teachers, and of their full sympathy with my own efforts for their welfare. Under these circumstances, I hope, with the divine blessing, for ultimate success.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROL.—I shall, with the permission of the meeting, make a few remarks with regard to the extent of the work of education required to be done in India. The population of Ireland is about ten to twelve millions, and the number of children in the national schools in Ireland is about 600,000; while in India, with twelve or thirteen times the population (I am taking only British India), the number, including higher, middle, collegiate, and lower education altogether, is only about 600,000 also. That will show at once what amount of work there is to be done yet. Again, comparing India with Great Britain, we know that in the lower schools only (putting aside higher, middle, collegiate, and lower education), to which Government give a grant, there are, as we read in the debate a few days ago, on the books about 1,500,000 pupils in a population of nearly 25,000,000, while in India, with six times the population, there is but about a third of that number now under education. For what has been done I, and I suppose natives in general, feel very grateful. But on the other hand I would most earnestly impress upon the Government, and upon those who feel an interest in India, that the work yet to be undertaken is a very large work. In the same debate Lord Robert Montague says, in England, with its population of 25,000,000, there are 6,000,000 of children between three and fifteen years, and 3,900,000 of school-going children—that is, about an eighth of the whole population of 25,000,000. If we take the same proportion for India, there ought to be at school something like 18,000,000 of pupils, while there is only one-fortieth of this number actually at school, including every kind of education. In England the Government and the people are one and the same nation—the patriotism of the people down to the lowest class is necessarily in favour of their own Government, whereas in India England requires to create a loyalty, and to create that loyalty the people ought to be shown what the benefit of England's rule is. As long as the growing generations in India remain in ignorance, both of the benefits which England confers upon them and of the very rudiments of education, one cannot be surprised that the natives should not so readily feel a gratitude for British rule. So even from a political point of view the work to be done by England is very great; and I trust the British Government will vigorously apply themselves to it.

Mr. DALL.—Having just come from Calcutta, I am able to speak to what is being done there in the way of Government assistance to female education. I have been receiving a grant in aid from Government for a school for girls for some time past. Miss Braddon, an American lady, received, in January last, a grant in aid, of 10*l.* a-month for her schools, with an immediate bonus of 150*l.* sterling; and it is a general rule that the Government will give at the rate of one rupee a-month for an

average attendance of girls in all the girls' schools in Bengal. The aid in the Madras Presidency is still more liberal. Being an American, and having received Government grants in aid from Government, I feel indebted to the English Government for this generosity. I know that what Miss Carpenter has said is not inconsistent with this, the facts which I mention. The schools I speak of are not Government schools for girls, they are Missionary schools, receiving a grant in aid from the Government. The Government build certain schools for boys; but at Calcutta there are as yet no Government schools, properly so called, for girls, but the Government, willing to encourage female education till such schools should be formed, are encouraging private efforts in every possible way, and giving grants in aid to missionary or other schools of all sorts throughout the country. For this we feel indebted to the British Government. With regard to gymnastic exercise, I can speak to the readiness with which not only the boys but the girls engage in exercises calculated to develop the physique of men and women. In a school in Calcutta, in which there is an average attendance of about 450 at present, the swings, the jumping from spring-boards, the use of ropes and so forth, and games called French and English, are entered into with the greatest zest, so much so, that my difficulty has been to keep my gymnastics in repair; and the girls come before the school-time to enjoy them. And to see them thus enjoying themselves one would think it was an Anglo-Saxon school and not an Asiatic one. As to instruction in drawing, I have received a Government grant in aid of 100*l.* a-year, for eight years, for a school in Calcutta, which bears the name of the School of useful Arts, which is an institution established for the purpose of teaching those young men and women who have become converts to Christianity, various arts by which they may earn their living. In that school they are taught book-keeping, reporting, drawing, needlework, and a variety of other useful arts by which they can support themselves after they leave the institution. 200 pupils are instructed in the rudiments of drawing, and one of those pupils was lately taken by the Engineer-in-chief of India, and I believe he is quite proud of him.

MISS CARPENTER.—The other topic to which I am desirous of directing your attention, is not less important than that of which I have already spoken,—**REFORMATORY TREATMENT.**

This subject may at first sight appear to concern only one portion, and that a small one, of the community. When, however, it is considered how much injury both to property and to life is sustained by the respectable part of society through the lawlessness of the criminal classes,—how narrow and often imperceptible is the boundary between these and the inferior portion of those above;—how great is the tendency of crime to become hereditary and thus perpetuate itself, as well as to entangle others in its snares;—and how enormous is the expenditure necessarily made by a Government in repressing crime and protecting innocence;—when we understand and seriously weigh these things (which indeed have peculiar force in India), we must admit that few subjects are more important to a nation than its treatment of crime,—and the consideration whether they shall be simply repressive or really reformatory.

The truth of this has long been recognized by the British Government. A Select Committee of the House of Lords, more than twenty years ago, early in 1847, held long and careful sittings, and examined witnesses of high authority and experience, in order to report on the execution of the criminal law, and more particularly the "State of Juvenile Offenders, with a view to ascertain the best means for their reformation and for their restoration to society." The importance of improving prison discipline was then distinctly recognized, and different systems were weighed with a view to ascertain the soundest principles of management. With respect to juveniles, the Committee state that "the contamination of a gaol, as gaols are usually managed, may often prove fatal, and must always be hurtful to boys committed for first offence," and they recommend reformatory asylums for them. From that time the question of the best principles of prison discipline has been continually before our Government, and no amount of expenditure has prevented the adoption of what appeared most calculated to answer the end. Certain principles have been proved by experience to be sound, and these are now established by law in all prisons. After careful examination of the principles in Parliamentary Committees, Juvenile Reformatories were recognized by law, and placed on a sound basis, fourteen years ago; they are increasingly valued in our islands.

In India the state of the country has hitherto prevented the same amount of

attention being paid to this important subject, and other topics of more apparently pressing urgency have prevented its full consideration. From time to time enlightened and benevolent legislators have devoted their thought and earnest effort to the subject, and doubtless many improvements have been made on the previously existing state of things. But as yet the principles which are generally accepted as sound ones not only in our own country, but on the Continent, which have extended to Canada, and are being adopted in the United States, are scarcely known, still less recognized as a basis of legislation in India;—the attempt to reform the young criminal has never been made by the Government of that country. What I myself saw I have narrated briefly in my 'Six Months,' and I gave a short account of it in a paper laid before the Social Science Association, which is embodied in its 'Transactions.' Everywhere the prisoners slept in association, large numbers being in some cases crowded together; to all the evils, moral and physical, which must arise from close and unguarded companionship in crime, they were exposed. Nowhere did I find any instructors provided to improve their condition. In many places the gaol buildings were so ill-arranged and insecure that good discipline seemed impossible in them. The condition of the female prisoners was even worse, for they were associated together in a similar manner, without any industrial labour of an improving character, and under the care of male warders. Yet wherever I went, I met with official gentlemen who strongly felt all those evils, perceived how they might be remedied, often at no very heavy expense, and who earnestly desired to do so, but had not the power; everywhere did they lament that young boys were committed to such receptacles of crime, to be distinctly trained to a life of vice,—but they had not the means of rescuing them from it. My experience was small and limited; but Major Hutchinson, who, in the discharge of his duty as Inspector-General of Police in the Punjab, had peculiar opportunities of forming a correct judgment, in a paper last summer laid before the Social Science Association, points out the existence of similar evils in Northern India. Official Reports show even more strongly the variety and extent of the evil. Without entering into the details which may be found in them, we may refer to the last Report of the Inspector-General of Prisons, Dr. Mouat:—"I have arrived at the conclusion," he says,* "that, until the system of collective imprisonment now in use in India is entirely abandoned, Indian prisons will remain, what every person practically and intimately acquainted with them knows them to be, *training-schools of vice and crime*. They will also continue to sacrifice their hecatombs of victims on the altar of preventable disease, in spite of every effort that can be made to render them healthy."

In a letter to the Government of Bengal, he writes:†—"This sickness and mortality has been the constant subjects of report and representation for the last fifty years. Two great committees have considered, and made urgent representations regarding them, *as yet without effect*. . . . I venture most respectfully and earnestly to state my belief, that when the facts of the case become more widely known in England than they are at present, the public feeling will be aroused to an extent not exceeded by that of any Indian question that has recently been the subject of discussion. . . . I dread to lift the veil that at present conceals the immoral relations of Indian prisoners. So long as these relations continue, our gaols will continue to be training-schools of vice and crime, and all attempts to reform prisoners must be unsuccessful."

What Dr. Mouat says of the unhealthiness of the gaols of Bengal is borne out by official testimonies elsewhere; it is owing to *remediable* causes, arising greatly from faults in structure. Thus Dr. Wiehe, the Inspector-General of Prisons in Bombay Presidency, in a report of an official tour, mentions the Meerut Central Prison as the most unhealthy in the north-west, but from what special cause, he says, "I have been unable to learn, *beyond an ill-selected site and bad drainage*." Now, in one year, 1861, as many as 1385 died, being an average of 63·22 per cent., the average of five years varying between this number and 11·63. In the Delhi gaol, on the contrary, which he notices for its scrupulous cleanliness and its admirable conservancy, the mortality of the preceding year was only 1·4. In the Poona Gaol, owing to the employment of careful preventive measures, not a single case of cholera occurred, while that dreadful scourge was causing consternation and grievous loss of life everywhere around. In the Madras Presidency, on the contrary, in one gaol forty-eight died of cholera in one month, while in another ninety-four died in the same time. The average mortality in the Presidency is 12·944 per cent.

* Vide Report, p. 14.

† P. 16.

These facts, both moral and physical, are no more than might have been anticipated from the state of the prisons; they require the adoption of a different structure and the recognition of acknowledged principles of prison discipline. The present state of the Bengal prisons, Dr. Mount says, "is a scandal and a reproach that would not be tolerated in Great Britain for a day beyond the time necessary to remove it by a proper construction of prisons, *no matter at what cost.*"

The expense of alteration is probably a great obstacle to the improvement of the prisons, otherwise it can hardly be supposed that condemned gaols would remain in various parts of the country year after year in so bad a state that repair seems useless; or that, as Dr. Mount tells us, "nearly every gaol in the Lower Provinces is extremely insecure and so deficient in all the essentials of a prison, that the paucity of escapes, 2·06 per cent. of average strength in 1866, rather than their number, is a matter of surprise to me. There are at present 2007 escaped convicts from the prisons of the Lower Provinces at large." But surely the expense entailed by all these evils, and by the tens of thousands of guards annually employed to supply the place of well-constructed prisons, is also great; and the erection of new central gaols on the old associated plan, which is at present being done, will perpetuate a system which is proved to be bad and costly.

This state of things should not be regarded as a mere question of finance, but of principle and duty, in which every Englishman is concerned, since it regards the welfare of his fellow-subjects who cannot help themselves. Appeals should be made to the right quarter for the inauguration of a truly reformatory system of prison discipline, and for such structure of the gaols as will be both morally and physically healthy. I trust that this Association, so nearly interested in the welfare of India, will take every practicable step to awaken public attention to the subject, and to bring legislation to bear upon it.

If the state of Indian prisons is so very unsatisfactory, both morally and physically, as regards adults, what must be their effect on the young boys who are committed to them, frequently with no possibility of separating them from older criminals! There they serve an apprenticeship to crime, and prepare to perpetuate the dangerous classes. So injurious to the young are Indian gaols well known to be, that the punishment of whipping juvenile offenders is by law frequently substituted for imprisonment. But this is known by experienced persons in India not to act even as an effectual deterrent. The lash is not a panacea in India any more than in England! It was proved to the satisfaction of our Government sixteen years ago that the best managed gaols, where juveniles are separated from adults and placed under special instruction, are not fit places for the young, who require freely to develop their powers and to be prepared for an honest working life. What, then, must be the fate of young Hindoo boys consigned to such gaols as have been described by the Inspector-General of Gaols. Commendations have been made from time to time to the Supreme Government by some of the Local Governments for the establishment of Reformatories for juveniles, but hitherto without effect. Public opinion probably is not sufficiently informed on the subject to protect such persons as strongly advocate these views, from the imputation of being prompted by "morbid philanthropy." The argument may perhaps be now brought forward in India which was successfully combated in England some dozen years ago, that improved prison discipline and Reformatory Schools would present a "premium on crime," and that if the State and public benevolence took charge of delinquent boys and girls, parents would stimulate their children to crime to relieve themselves of the burden of them. Facts, which were fully anticipated by those who advocated the system, demonstrated the fallacy of such arguments. Wherever the gaols are under the best discipline and founded on the soundest principles, there are the fewest reconvictions, for the criminal class, accustomed to a lawless life, little appreciate compulsory cleanliness, order, and discipline;—this would be especially the case in India. With respect to juvenile offenders, parents do not wish for their children to be compulsorily removed from their authority and influence, and wild lawless boys do not show such appreciation of the comforts of a reformatory as to remain voluntarily in one. The difficulty will be to retain young Hindoos in a reformatory, rather than to keep them out of it.

At the commencement of our own reformatory movement, we were fortunate in having practical examples before us, to which we could refer in proof of our argument. Stretton-on-Dunsmore and Redhill had long borne their testimonies;—

* Vide Report, p. 33.

Metzl in France, as a large institution based on the family principle, and the Rauhe Haus in Germany as a home school, had long been household words with us. We could point to facts as refutations of supposed objections. The United States had long accepted the principle, and worked upon it without misgiving in its large refuges. But in the vast empire of India only one practical testimony has been borne, and that by a benevolent Jewish gentleman, to the principle that erring children should be reformed and educated, rather than punished. The David Sassoon Reformatory at Bombay has stood alone for many years, and has to contend with various disadvantages from want of the necessary Government control, but it has done excellent work. Its known success may have led to the following clause in the judicial code:—The 433rd section of the Code of Criminal Procedure provides that "when any person under the age of sixteen years shall be sentenced by any magistrate or Court of Session to imprisonment for any offence, it shall be lawful for such magistrate or Court to direct that such offender, instead of being imprisoned in the criminal gaol, shall be confined in any reformatory which may be recognized by the local Government as a fit place for confinement, in which there may be means of suitable discipline and of training in some branch of useful industry, and which shall be kept by a person willing to obey such rules as the Government may direct with regard to the discipline and training of persons confined therein." It is evident, however, that this clause alone would answer no useful purpose, for it presupposes the existence of suitable institutions which do not exist, and makes no provision for the support or detention of offenders in them, while it limits the time of their remaining in them to the judicial sentence, which may be only a few months. On this last account it was not used by the managers of the Sassoon Reformatory, and I am not aware that it has hitherto produced any effect but to show that the Indian Government recognized the reformatory principle.

It is unnecessary before my present audience to enter into any argument to prove that the removal of a state of things, so inconsistent with morality as the condition of Hindoo prisoners is stated to be by the most competent witnesses, cannot be opposed to sound principles of political economy;—nor need I here urge the duty of making the condition of men, women, and children, who are deprived by law of their liberty, morally and physically healthy, at any pecuniary cost. Wilfully and knowingly to expose a fellow-being to physical and moral contamination and disease, will be conceded by all to be a crying wrong. But underlying all other difficulties, is probably one arising from a certain hopelessness of producing any permanent or valuable effect in India from reformatory treatment; I beg to offer on this a few remarks suggested by my own experience. One cause of this hopelessness is the impossibility of introducing into reformatories or prisons Christian instruction, to which in England we attach great importance. Regretting, as we must do, that we cannot communicate to the inmates of these institutions those hopes and sanctions which we hold most precious, we should not forget how much has been done for India without direct religious instruction, or how fully are recognized in India by all educated persons, of whatever creed, the grand moral principles which are the basis of all religion. We may then, through educated natives themselves, give valuable instruction and moral teaching to their erring countrymen. If we can do so, this is surely our solemn duty. But the chief cause of this hopelessness arises from doubt of the improbability of the race. What I myself saw in the prisons of India, and what I heard from experienced persons, inspires me with a much more hopeful view. I believe indeed that the development of sound principles would be in many respects peculiarly easy and especially successful among the Hindoos. Nowhere have I seen prison labour carried on more satisfactorily than in India. Whether the prisoners were weaving at Ahmedabad Gaol, or making beautiful baskets at Surat or Poona, or working at the printing presses in the wonderful prison establishment at Alipore Gaol near Calcutta, they looked as cheerfully engaged in their occupations as free labourers; this was the more striking, as they had not the incentive of having any portion of their earnings. At Poona the ticket-of-leave system is admirably carried out, the trained prisoners finding no difficulty in getting good work, and reporting themselves regularly to the Superintendent. At Matheran I saw a little convict establishment, where a few Chinamen, discharged after long imprisonment, were located. They skilfully and industriously developed the resources of the land, and were a model of good conduct, supplying the neighbourhood with vegetables raised by themselves. Major Hutchinson showed in his paper how the very wildest have been reclaimed by

judicious means, and that hopes may be entertained of reforming juveniles by the adoption of similar ones. The Hindoo has, I believe, great capabilities;—may we have the privilege of developing them.

I must now apologize for having occupied you so long; but the themes on which I have touched are vast, and of the highest importance to India. I can do but little in this extensive field;—I shall be truly thankful if I can stimulate others to work on it. The British nation has a true and noble heart. India will love her when she has learnt to know and understand her. It will be a happiness to me if my humble efforts should help, in however small a degree, to strengthen the bond of union between the two nations so marvellously brought together for their mutual benefit, by a wise and loving Providence.

RED LODGE HOUSE,
BRISTOL, *June 4th*, 1868.

CHAIRMAN.—I am sure you will all join me in a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Carpenter for the interesting paper on this very important subject which has just been read. I think further that we must all appreciate the disinterested self-devotion which induces Miss Carpenter to give her services to such a praiseworthy object. I regret that Sir Bartle Frere, who if he had been present would have taken the Chair, has not been able to attend. I took it quite unexpectedly, otherwise taking the deep interest I do in India, I should have been prepared with a few remarks upon those very all-important and interesting subjects opened by Miss Carpenter. With regard to reformatories there cannot be a doubt of their use where required; but the great reformatory both in India and in England and all over the world is the bringing up and education of youth. The gain to the State would be immense if one-tenth or one-hundredth part of that which is now spent in dealing with convicts were expended in the proper bringing up of youth. I beg to move a hearty vote of thanks, in which I am sure we shall all unite, to Miss Carpenter for her kindness in reading the paper she has just read to us.

Colonel FRENCH.—I beg to be allowed to second that vote. I have been a very long time in India, and am rejoiced to hear that Miss Carpenter proposes revisiting that most interesting country. I have the pleasure of seeing on my left hand Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, an old friend of mine, and who took a most prominent part in Bombay in the promotion of female education. I think Miss Carpenter has fallen into a little mistake in supposing that the Government led the way; the way was led by my friend on the left and other gentlemen in Bombay, and then the Government very properly followed. I am rejoiced to learn that Miss Carpenter is returning to India, the more so because she will have a greater amount of leisure, and her philanthropy will perhaps lead her off the beaten high-road, when she will find that in all the villages there are schools in which a certain amount of education is carried out, and that the people are by no means the savages or barbarians which persons not conversant with India would suppose them to be. On the contrary, judging from a very long residence in India, I say that the people of India are from the hand of nature far more civilized than are ourselves of the British Isles. Every village in India has its schools, the education given at which may not be very vast; but we should not judge of everything from the English standard. England is very well in the eyes of Englishmen, but in the eyes of most other nations it is not so very well. We are a peculiarly proud people and vain of ourselves. Then again as to reformatories, if you want to see an English prison, go to Pentonville, and see that accursed asylum for the convict, and witness the operation of the silent system; or go to the Calton Hill at Edinburgh, and see people positively grinding impalpable air for eight hours consecutively per diem; grinding nothing as a punishment; nobody seeing what they suffer. You may call that a reformatory if you will, but ask a Hindoo what he calls it, and he would say it is the Christian's revenge, which no one in the world would think of but Christians. It is a disgrace to civilization. No doubt when Miss Carpenter again visits India she will see many faults to find with our gaols and reformatories. I have had a gaol under me, and I know what it is; but as regards the work in which Miss Carpenter is engaging herself, nobody can estimate the importance of it too highly. From Hindoos, Mahomedans, Parsees, and especially Parsees of Bombay, she will receive hearty and able assistance; and if there are many now in Bombay such as my friend was, when we were much younger than at present, she will find able and efficient support. I, with all here, wish her a most happy voyage and happy

return among us, and all the success which her enthusiasm and love of enterprise demand.

Dr. DALL.—When Mr. William Adams made his examination of the schools of Bengal, he made an estimate that there were 30,000 village schools in that part of India; but those schools are of such a very low type that they scarcely deserve to be called schools. Along with a little figuring and a little teaching of Bengalee, a good deal of stealing and cheating is taught. One other point is this: the Reports of Mr. William Adams on the schools in Bengal are an extremely interesting set of reports, and well worth perusal. I may mention that in a conversation I had recently with Dr. Mowatt, he had the impression that a Royal Commission was about to be sent to India to look into the gaols, and he totally disapproved of it, saying that they would only come out to be learners as he and others had been for twelve or fifteen years; but that if the means would come to carry out the reforms which he and all those best acquainted with India were ready and waiting to accomplish, then the work would be done. They knew what ought to be done, and they had been waiting for it to be done years and years; and as soon as the means were found, those great changes which they think ought to be made would be made. Hitherto the expenses of the country have been so great that the means have not been found and may not be found for some years. They do not want a Royal Commission; they do not want advice upon the subject, for they have studied it very thoroughly; but they want the positive pecuniary help. There is a serious feeling in Dr. Mowatt's mind that the Hindco almost universally regards crime without moral degradation, as a misfortune, as a fate. (No, no.) I only say that was his impression. India of course contains races as diverse as Europe, there being as great a difference between the natives of India as between the natives of Russia and England. I presume in Bombay there will be found an abundance of subscriptions to carry out what Miss Carpenter proposes, and I have no doubt that many ladies will be glad to devote themselves to the work. I was speaking with a lady yesterday who was born in Calcutta, and therefore well acquainted with the language, whom I hope to have the privilege of introducing to Miss Carpenter; a person who has been an instructress in Calcutta for many years, and who wishes to go out and devote herself to the work of female education.

Mr. BONNERJEE.—Perhaps I may be allowed to propose this Resolution on the latter portion of the paper, That the paper be referred to the Managing Committee, with instructions that it be sent to the General Purposes Committee of this Association, with a view to some practical steps being taken to carry Miss Carpenter's suggestions into practice. Simply reading the paper to this Association cannot possibly do so much good as if our Association put themselves into communication with the Government, suggesting some practical steps in order to carry out Miss Carpenter's views. For my part I think that a great reform is necessary in the Indian prisons, and as has been distinctly shown by Dr. Mowatt, that reform must not be in a faltering spirit, but in a thorough spirit. The present system must be done away with, and a new system introduced. With reference to what Dr. Dall said, as to there being in Dr. Mowatt's view no necessity for a Royal Commission, I think if Dr. Mowatt and his colleagues were to look forward to the visit of, say, Sir Robert Crofton and others like him, in a friendly spirit, a great deal of good might be done. I know that when a deputation from the Social Science Association waited upon Sir Stafford Northcote upon the subject of these prisons, a great deal of difficulty was thrown in the way by the Indian Government. If a thorough spirit of harmony could be infused into this question of the reform of gaols, and if no objections were made against the appointment of a Royal Commission or anything of that description, a great deal could be done. With respect to the sort of education that Dr. Dall says is given in those village schools: I come from Bengal, and I was educated in one of those village schools, and I must say, though it is now some years ago, I do not remember that I was taught either to steal or to do anything immoral. I may have been taught in that way, but if I was I have entirely forgotten it. I can testify not only to the physical training of the boys, but their moral training in those village schools; and if those village schools were improved by Government aid, they would be of far greater use in developing the mental qualities of the people of India than any extraneous schools you could place in India. You want to reform existing institutions in the country, and from those institutions work upon the minds of the natives. I take this opportunity of thanking Miss Carpenter for the great interest she has shown always in India. She has been always a friend to the natives of India, and I

hope that the kind spirit which has actuated her in exerting herself for the good of India, will also actuate other English ladies to take a similar interest; for with the aid of English ladies and English gentlemen, and with the assistance of the natives, India will be regenerated and made better than she is at the present time.

Dr. DALL.—I may mention one very encouraging thing in connection with the matter of religious instruction. Dr. Hallam, the Professor of Chemistry and Natural Sciences in the University of Calcutta, told me that he was obliged to appoint Wednesday evening, at his own house, as a time when the students might come to him and ask religious questions—for they were continually asking him religious questions in the class-room, and as a Government officer he felt that he could not answer them. I myself, when visiting the drawing schools, would be asked by a pupil drawing the head of Matthew, "Who is Matthew?" and I was obliged to say, "I must not answer that question." The fact is, that their minds are so full of religious questions, that they cannot help seeking instruction in them. The spirit of religion and worship in the Hindoo people is grander and broader, so far as it goes, than it is in England. I am convinced that the system adopted by the Government is not, as it is often characterized, an infidel and godless system, but that it is the right system to adopt.

Mr. BONNERJEE.—In those Government schools they have standard books for the use of the schools which teach religion indirectly. When I was in the Hindoo school in Calcutta, the books we had to read were 'Cowper's Poems,' Dr. Johnson's 'Rambler,' and a great many other books treating of religion; and we asked freely questions about religion, and no objection was raised by our parents or schoolmasters, who were native gentlemen. No doubt if anything directly bearing upon religious points is given to the boys, it is objected to; but indirect teaching of religion in that way is going on in every school in Bengal.

Mr. MEHTA.—I beg to second Mr. Bonnerjee's Resolution.

The Resolution that the second part of Miss Carpenter's paper be referred to the Managing Committee for the purpose of being taken into consideration by the General Purposes Committee was put and carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, seconded by General French, a vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the Chairman.

AFTERNOON MEETING, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24, 1868.

WILLIAM TAYLER, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Lord W. M. HAY, M.P., read the following

Note on Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's Paper of July 5, 1867, on the Mysore Succession.

I HOPE, Gentlemen, you won't suppose that it was by my desire that you were invited here for the sole purpose of hearing a few observations on the paper which was read last year by my friend Mr. Naoroji. I particularly requested our Secretary not to issue a notice to you unless there was some other subject of interest for discussion. However, if you will forgive him I shall not complain, for I have been anxious for an opportunity to make a few remarks upon the paper referred to. I promise they shall not be lengthy, and I hope they will not lead to any controversy.

I may remark at the outset that it has from the first been my opinion that the main object which this Association should ever have in view is the collection of thoroughly accurate and trustworthy information on Indian subjects. What public men in England—whatever may be their occupation—what public men require and look for in an institution like ours is trustworthy information. They want facts. They will listen with more or less attention to our arguments and to our opinions; but what they desire are facts—not arguments. And accordingly I should wish to see the value of every paper read in this room tested mainly, if not solely, by its accuracy in matters of fact—rather than by the soundness of the inferences drawn from those facts. The truth is there are plenty of able men in England who, given the data—given the means of forming their opinions, that is to say, given the facts—are as competent,

indeed are more competent, than we Indians to arrive at a wise conclusion on questions of policy, however purely Indian those questions may seem to be.

I may be wrong, but I fancy I see a tendency on the part of those who address our Association to lose sight of this important truth. I am quite certain that the Association will suffer if there is any justice in this allegation; for we may rest assured that its strength and influence and weight in this country will be in exact ratio to the value, in point of accuracy and in point of completeness, of the information which it is able to afford upon any given question. Assuredly its influence will in no way depend upon the vehemence with which our views are sometimes set forth.

Now I take the paper of my friend Mr. Naoroji to illustrate the defect I have noticed. In the course of that paper there is only one fact prominently stated. The argument in a great measure depends upon it; and if it were a fact, I admit that my observations in the House of Commons were unnecessary, and even foolish. The statement I refer to is that the Treaty of Mysore and the Treaty of Travancore are identical. The important bearing of this assertion upon the point at issue will be seen when I remind you of the position of the Mysore case last year. Lord Dalhousie, while in India, and with no other papers before him than the treaties themselves, had declared in writing his opinion that the treaty with the Mysore chief whom Lord Wellesley placed on the throne was a *personal* and not a *dynastic* treaty, and that consequently the British Government was at liberty to act as it seemed fit in respect to the territory of Mysore on the death of the Rajah. This opinion, right or wrong, was, after ample consideration, confirmed by Lord Canning, Sir Charles Wood, Sir John Lawrence, and last, not least, by Lord Cranbourne. That is to say that four of the ablest statesmen of the day, differing from each other in politics, both Indian and English, took precisely the same view of the nature and scope of the Mysore Treaty that was taken by Lord Dalhousie.

On the other hand, there were gentlemen whose talents I should be the last to underrate—some I see before me—who arrived at a different conviction, who thought that the treaty was essentially dynastic and not personal.

Gentlemen, you cannot fail to recognize how much the character of the British Government for political probity depended upon which of these two opinions was the right one. If the treaty were in truth, as Lord Dalhousie alleged, a purely personal one, it might be bad policy to annex Mysore to British territory; but it certainly could not be stigmatized as a policy politically immoral or dishonest. On the other hand, if the treaty were certainly dynastic, it must follow that the Government would not only not be at liberty to annex Mysore or even to make any fresh arrangement on the death of the Rajah, but would be guilty of a gross breach of faith if it refused to recognize the Rajah's adopted son as his heir. In the one case the British Government might be acting foolishly, but not in bad faith; in the other case it would be acting in bad faith; in short, would be seriously compromising our national honour.

Now my object was to establish by corroborative evidence the soundness of the judgment of the statesmen to whom I have referred.

I wish particularly to note that I never—as has been insisted upon—maintained that the evidence which I obtained from the Wellesley papers, in the British Museum, was conclusive as to the issue raised by the Mysore question.

I did not say that the erasures and alterations and marginal notes which I brought to light sufficed to substantiate the personal nature of the treaty; I simply held that they threw great additional light on the subject, and confirmed in a very remarkable manner the conclusion independently arrived at by four of the most acute men in the country.

And in passing I must express my surprise at a passage in a work lately published by Major Bell, to the following effect:—

"The erasures, &c., discovered in the British Museum, do not evince the intention attributed to them by Lord William, and if they did, would be quite unavailable, and could not strengthen Lord Dalhousie's doctrine. Not a trace, not a hint of a personal treaty is to be found in the Wellesley papers, or in any official documents before 1856."

Now I appeal to every candid mind, whether the insertion of "heirs and successors" in one set of treaties, namely, in those with the Nizam, and their careful, deliberate erasure from the Mysore Treaties—taken together with the opinion expressed by Mr. Henry Wellesley, "that even at the death of the present Rajah,

it is in the power of the British Government to make any change in the form of the Government of Mysore"—do not go very far to establish the intention ascribed to Lord Wellesley.

Suppose that when you came to open the will of a relative by which you expected an estate to yourself and heirs, and found that it was left to yourself for life only, would you not deem it a very sufficient explanation of the deviser's *intention* if you came across the draft treaty, with his marginal notes directing the lawyer to strike out the word "heirs?" Even Mr. Bowring tacitly admitted that Lord Wellesley's intention was proved from the papers in the British Museum.

But let me come to the statement in Mr. Naoroji's paper, the accuracy of which I question, regarding the Travancore Treaty of 1805. Mr. Naoroji states that the Treaties of Mysore and Travancore are identical. Now, given the premises, I am quite free to admit that he is fully entitled to deduce from them, that to allow the Rajah of Travancore, on failure of direct issue, to adopt an heir, long before Lord Canning's Adoption Dispatch was written, and to deny the same privilege to the Rajah of Mysore, was unjust,—not to say in a high degree arbitrary. But are the premises correct—are the treaties identical? Quite the reverse. In the case of the Travancore Treaties, the word "successors" constantly recurs, whereas in the Mysore Treaties it is conspicuous only by its absence.

Let me read to you the clauses in the Travancore Treaties which bear out my statement:—

28th Jan., 1793. Articles of agreement between East India Company and the Dewan to the Rajah of Travancore for and on behalf of His said Highness and *his successors*.

1795. Article 3. "Rajah of Travancore doth engage himself and *successors*."

1805. Preamble sets forth that, whereas the intentions of the contracting parties (to former treaties) have not been duly fulfilled, the Company and the Rajah have deemed it expedient that *additional* provisions should be made (these additions being the clauses identical with those in the Mysore Treaty).

And to show more clearly that the treaty in no way aimed at superseding the former treaties, it is expressly stipulated in Article 9 that the Treaty of 1795 is renewed and confirmed.

And thus the whole structure raised by my friend on the identity of the two treaties falls to the ground.

The treaties differ in the all important feature that in the one set, successors and heirs are contemplated, in the other they are not; while the erasures pointed out by me, prove beyond a doubt that the omission in the Mysore Treaty of any reference to successors was deliberate and intentional—in no sense accidental.

I have only one word to add, and that will be addressed to those who are fond of holding up to public condemnation—I might almost say, execration—what are called Annexationists.

In India we have always had representatives of the two opposite schools—of the Annexationist and of the Non-annexationist school. The former were men who fore-saw clearly the good, but none of the evil which would result from the gradual extension of our rule; the latter exaggerated the evil, and made light of the good.

For the most part non-annexationists were persons whose official life had been passed in the courts of the native princes. Annexationists were generally men whose experience had been obtained in our own provinces. Speaking generally, it may be affirmed that non-annexationists took more account of the princes of India; annexationists thought more of the people.

However this may be, there cannot be propagated a greater fallacy than that those who have advocated an extension of British rule in India have done so from purely selfish motives, or have manifested an indifference to the interests of our native subjects. The contrary is the case. No one was a more thorough friend to the native than Sir T. Munro, and yet he urged with all his might the annexation of Mysore. No one exhibited greater anxiety to protect from tyranny and oppression the millions than Lord Wellesley; and yet he, more than any other Governor-General, undermined the authority of the native chiefs. No one emptied so many thrones as Lord Dalhousie, and still, I venture to think, he did more to promote the moral and material pro-

gress and welfare of the natives of India than any Governor-General before or after him.

The fact is, that the best men of the annexationist school were men of broad views and deep sympathies; men who revolted against the anarchy which was the normal condition of things under native rule; men who saw how little could be done to regenerate the people of India, so long as they were left to the tender mercies of their native administrators.

That there were persons—officials for the most part—to be found, mainly about Calcutta, who viewed the matter from a purely interested point is doubtless true—who held that to prove that a country could grow cotton of a certain staple, or tea, or would afford a pleasant place of abode in an agreeable climate, was sufficient to establish a ground for annexation. There have been such men. Their influence has been sometimes great—always mischievous. But I affirm that, on the whole, the greatest benefactors of India have been men of the annexationist school.

The rival schools have now buried their war-hatchets, so let this be a last word about them. I must apologize for the length of my note. I should not have trespassed upon your time, if there had been anything else before the Association.

My object was to set my friend right on an important point, and at the same time to draw your attention to the necessity of paying great regard to accuracy. If Mr. Naoroji's papers were not entitled to weight and consideration, from his known ability and conscientiousness, I should not trouble you with this paper. I hope he will accept it as a tribute willingly paid to the intelligent labour he has so often brought to bear upon our discussions and deliberations.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—I hope Lord William Hay will believe me when I say that I sincerely thank him for the trouble he has taken to point out what he deemed an inaccuracy in my paper. I do not view this or any other correction of anything I may have brought forward here as a personal matter. In all the remarks he made with regard to the necessity of being accurate in all we say here I fully concur, and if I find that I have made any mistake at any time, I shall acknowledge it most readily. As I did not know what Lord William Hay intended to say, or what fault he intended to find with my paper, it cannot be expected that I can answer the only point he has brought forward. Whether I am really inaccurate in it or not, I am still under the impression that I took very great trouble to read through the principal treaties both with Travancore and with Mysore, and I thought I had taken every care to be accurate, and for that very reason, though it took some space in the Journal, I gave what I considered the material clauses with my paper, so that there should be no mistake. However, if Lord William Hay is right that I have omitted any clause of importance, I shall be glad to look into it again, and if I find that I have made a mistake, I shall not at all hesitate or feel ashamed in acknowledging it. Lord William Hay says that I have omitted a clause in the Travancore Treaty which confirms the previous treaty or treaties, and those previous treaty or treaties provide for heirs and successors. If that is conclusive in the case of the Travancore Treaty, I only ask why the same should not be conclusive in the case of the Mysore Treaty. The Subsidiary Treaty of Mysore depends upon the Partition Treaty, and by the Partition Treaty both parties are bound, and their "heirs and successors."

LORD WILLIAM HAY.—There is no mention of the Rajah's heirs and successors in any treaty which deals with the Mysore Raj.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—The Partition Treaty is binding upon the parties contracting that Partition Treaty and on the heirs and successors, and the Subsidiary Treaty, being simply a development of one of the provisions of that Partition Treaty, that Subsidiary Treaty is binding in the same way on the parties to the Partition Treaty; so that, taking the reasoning adopted by Lord William Hay himself with respect to the Travancore Treaty, the Mysore Treaty is a treaty with the State.

LORD WILLIAM HAY.—I particularly wished not to raise a controversy on the Mysore question, but simply to point out an inaccuracy. I do not know whether the meeting wishes to go into the controversy.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—If that was Lord William Hay's object, I think he might have simply stopped at the inaccuracy, and not have gone further to defend what is called the annexationist party, and to extol the annexationist party as the greatest friends of India. However, as Lord William Hay does not want to raise a controversy on the Mysore Treaty, I will not raise it either. The Blue Books and papers are

before the world, and anyone can form his own opinion upon the question. I will only say this: I certainly have not the presumption to say that I can stand on an equality with all the great names that Lord William Hay has mentioned, beginning with Lord Dalhousie and ending with Sir John Lawrence. I acknowledge that I am no more to be compared with them than a pigmy with a giant; at the same time, no matter how high in authority they may be, if I cannot believe their verdict to be correct, I have the right to say that I disagree with them in that respect; and it is to be borne in mind that their opinion is formed on the facts we have before us. Anybody can judge for himself on the facts set out in the Blue Book. If my intellect is so poor that I have come to a wrong judgment upon those facts, I cannot help it. I can only say that I have laid it conscientiously before the Association. But certainly I will never admit the principle that because such and such great men have said so and so, therefore we must believe it. I maintain that, looking at the Blue Book, taking not a legal and fault-finding view of the treaty, but a broad and general view of it, it will be found that it is a dynastic treaty, a treaty to preserve the native rule; and even Sir John Lawrence himself admits that. But I will not enter into that controversy now; and without entering into that dispute about the policy of the annexationists, all I say is, that if that policy, however beneficial it may be to the country ultimately, is based on injustice or on bad faith, I for one certainly deprecate it. Whatever the consequences may be hereafter, I do not think either in the case of an individual or in the case of nations, there has ever been a going off the balance either moral or physical, without a fall; and wherever the maxim that the end justifies the means is adopted, and wherever anything unjust or in bad faith is carried out, I have very great doubts in my own mind that it can ever end in good results. Bad faith and injustice, especially towards a subjected people, will be sure to recoil afterwards on those who have been guilty of that bad faith and injustice. I am devotedly attached to the British rule, and for that very reason I say that any act that is based upon bad faith or injustice (I do not say that there has or has not been bad faith and injustice in this case), however good the immediate results may be, is sure in the end to do mischief, and especially in the case where the conquerors are at a great distance from the subjected nation.

Major BELL.—As Lord William Hay was good enough to refer to a book of mine with great kindness, I should like to point out that I do not consider that he has cleared up any inaccuracy or exposed any mistake either in the paper of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, or in any remarks I made when that paper was read, or in the book I have recently published; for after all, the result of the interesting discovery the noble Lord made in the British Museum, and the argument he founds upon it, appears to be this:—First, that the Treaty of 1799—the Subsidiary Treaty—is a personal treaty, and that it is a personal treaty because it does not contain the words “heirs and successors;” and secondly, that Lord Wellesley, in erasing the words “heirs and successors,” intended to make it a personal treaty. I maintain that both these arguments are not well founded. The Treaty of 1799, as it stands, contains no element of a personal treaty. It is impossible to place it before any jurist or publicist, or any authority on International Law in Europe, who will declare that it is a personal treaty. I believe I am perfectly justified in saying that no authority on International Law—no officer of the Crown in England or India—has ever declared that it is a personal treaty. A personal treaty is made for personal purposes—for a pension, for making some family alliance, or for some personal object. A treaty made for public objects, like the Subsidiary Treaty of 1799, which is a treaty of perpetual friendship and amity, has never since treaties were made in this world been declared a personal treaty. The fact is, that in the matter of this particular Subsidiary Treaty opinions have been given by several jurists in England, and they have all declared it to be a real treaty. A very eminent lawyer, Mr. Norton, the Advocate-General at Madras, was here on the occasion of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's paper being read, and he staked his professional reputation upon it that it was a real treaty, and not a personal treaty. If Lord Wellesley had intended, by striking out the words “heirs and successors,” to make it a personal treaty, he could not have done it. I will not say that it is a matter of utter indifference to us, because it cannot be a matter of indifference to us what a man of the extraordinary ability and high position of Lord Wellesley at the time intended; but legally it is a matter of utter indifference, because by striking out those words he could not make it a personal treaty. It is of no consequence whether the words “heirs and successors” are in the treaty or

not. In the next place, there is nothing whatever to show us that Lord Wellesley intended it to be a personal treaty, and we have heard nothing to lead us to believe it. On the contrary, Lord Wellesley repeatedly talks of establishing a "family" and "a dynasty," and of restoring the family of the Rajah of Mysore to the throne. Till the time of Lord Dalhousie it never was called a personal treaty. Lord William Bentinck, in assuming the management of Mysore, said that he did it with the object of "the permanent prosperity of the Raj." Sir Stafford Northcote has recently said that he believes that Lord Wellesley's intention was to establish a Hindoo dynasty on the throne. Lord William Hay quoted these words from a memorandum by Mr. Henry Wellesley: "It is only necessary further to observe, that the Article of the Treaty of Mysore relative to the restoration of the family, and in the person of the present Rajah, is so worded as to preclude all possibility of disturbance from any person coming forward hereafter with a priority of claim." If I have not completely misunderstood Lord William Hay, he supposes that Mr. Henry Wellesley was referring in the word "hereafter," to the Rajah's heirs and successors.

Lord WILLIAM HAY.—No.

Major BELL.—Then the noble lord has misunderstood the passage, for it is quite irrelevant to the subject.

Lord WILLIAM HAY.—No.

Major BELL.—Mr. Henry Wellesley was not referring to what might happen after the Rajah's death, but to what might happen, and actually did happen, during the earlier years of the Rajah's reign, when there were other claimants coming forward. Lord Wellesley no doubt struck out the words "heirs and successors" in order that he might keep a hold over the succession. It seems to me that it is a great pity that of late years the habit has sprung up (and you may observe it cropping up in recent Foreign Office dispatches), instead of sticking to the letter of treaties, which, according to International Law, must always be interpreted, on the soundest principles, in favour of the weakest party, of referring back to dispatches to divine the intentions and wishes of the parties who made the treaties, which they have no right to refer to. If we have the right of strengthening and expanding the doubtful provisions of a treaty in our own favour, by going into the secret, reserved intentions of one of the parties, as they are to be gathered or guessed at from diaries, private notes, and pencil-jottings, any other party to any other treaty must have the same right. This would be found to work in a very unexpected and unpleasant way. If we depart from the letter and spirit of public documents to deviate into the bye-ways of confidential memoranda, rough drafts, and private correspondence, or even public dispatches, which, however authoritative and instructive to our own servants, are not binding or imperative upon our allies (more especially when not communicated to them), we shall find that we have opened a very inconvenient source of controversy and importunity to many Native Princes. Not only the Marquis Wellesley's and the Duke of Wellington's dispatches, but many recently published Blue Books, not lead-pencil marks, but official documents, would be opened as materials for argument and demands. To the Nizam, for instance, if the principle of interpretation contended for by the noble lord were sound or admissible, you might find many inconvenient dispatches written by the Marquis of Wellesley with reference to the Nizam's claims and the Nizam's rights; and if you do not stick to treaties, you may get such a body of evidence established against you in dispatches and letters in regard to claims from Native Princes, as you will find very inconvenient when it becomes embodied in Blue Books for the benefit of England and of Europe.

Lord WILLIAM HAY.—With regard to what has just fallen from Major Bell, I may mention that nothing struck me more in reading the papers connected with the Mysore Treaty in the British Museum, than the extremely intimate relations which evidently subsisted between the Commissioners appointed by Lord Wellesley to arrange this treaty and the native representatives of Mysore and Hyderabad. Poornea and Meer Alum were treated by Lord Wellesley and by his brother with the utmost confidence. Not a single proposal was made or recommended that was not communicated to both those men. I myself am perfectly satisfied that it was thoroughly well known at the Mysore and Hyderabad Courts that it was only a personal treaty, and indeed there is no other way of accounting for the fact, that all along, up to the very latest moment, the Rajah of Mysore talked of bequeathing his country to England. It never entered the head of the Rajah of Travancore, whose treaties secured his country to his successors, to do anything of that sort; why should the Rajah of Mysore

think of bequeathing his country to England if he believed that he had the same right to bequeath it to his successors under the treaties with the British Government as the Rajah of Travancore, who, remember, is not a prince living at a great distance, but whose territory is coterminous with that of Mysore. Then with regard to the point about Mr. Henry Wellesley, the fact was this: after the Rajah of Mysore was established on the throne, a relative of the old Mysore family put forward a claim, on the plea of being nearer to the direct line, and Mr. Henry Wellesley entered into a minute examination of his claim. The result was a decision adverse to the claimant, and he concludes an able paper on the subject in the following terms: "At the time of the Rajah of Mysore's elevation to the throne of Mysore, no person possessing the smallest claim to a priority of title existed at Seringapatam. It is only necessary further to observe, that the article of the treaty of Mysore relative to the restoration of the family and in the person of the present Rajah, is so worded as to preclude all possibility of disturbance from any person coming forward hereafter with a priority of claim. *Even at the death of the present Rajah, it is in the power of the British Government to make any change in the form of the Government of Mysore that they choose;*" that is to say, it is perfectly notorious to everybody that when the present Rajah dies it entirely depends upon the view taken by the Government of the day, whether the Raj shall be continued under native rule, or whether some other of the many proposals which were made at the time of the original treaty shall be adopted.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—I will only just say this; notwithstanding Lord William Hay's desire that there should be no controversy, after all there has been a controversy raised. I do not enter into it upon the understanding that it is not to be taken that because I am silent, therefore I am not able to give a reply to what has been said.

CHAIRMAN.—This particular question of the Mysore succession was decided immediately after my return to England after a long residence in India, so that I have had no opportunity, and no particular desire, to enter into any minute examination of the subject itself; and therefore I will not detain you by making any observations upon it. When Lord William Hay proposed to read the note upon Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's paper, and at the same time expressed a wish that there should be no controversy, I certainly thought his desire rather utopian, and not one very likely to be carried out. Indeed I do not think it desirable that discussion on a subject of this kind should be avoided. I agree most fully with one sentiment Lord William expressed, namely, that the usefulness and importance of this Association depends almost entirely upon the accuracy with which the facts connected with any question discussed before it are laid before the public and before Parliament. This Society should, I conceive, be looked at as a channel for supplying the information required by English statesmen, which they have not an opportunity or the means to acquire themselves; but to say at the same time that the exposition of facts is not to be accompanied or followed by discussion, is almost an absurdity, if I may say so, because when we see the extreme difficulty with which what we call *facts*, as connected with a public treaty, are surrounded, we see clearly that no one of us can produce what we call our *facts* without exciting controversy. The issue here is a question of fact, and the fact can only be elucidated by the production of careful, well-considered, and well-digested information prepared by the members of this Association, for I do not see anybody else likely to take the trouble to do it. I cannot therefore regret the little discussion that has been excited on this occasion, and I hope there will be considerable future discussion on the question, not of the Mysore Treaty only, but similar treaties affecting the great States of India. I think rather that we may congratulate ourselves that there has been discussion, and that we may hope for a little further discussion hereafter. I will make no further remarks upon the great question of annexation or non-annexation. In the last few years, events of the most vital importance have given peculiar interest to that question on both sides, and no doubt the subject will give rise to very interesting and important discussions hereafter, perhaps in Parliament, at all events before the public; and I hope that this Association will be found to answer the purpose of its establishment, by stepping between the controversialists and supplying that which most of them require—accurate information.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—I wish to propose a vote of thanks to Lord William Hay: our object is simply the elucidation of the truth, and therefore I personally feel obliged to him, and I think the Association feel obliged to him for bringing before us that which tends to elicit the truth.

Major BELL.—I beg to second that Resolution. We are all proud of Lord William Hay as a member of this Association, and I think we are all of opinion that he represents us very ably, if I may say so, in Parliament. Certainly he has taken a position in Parliament which is highly advantageous to the Association, and, as I believe, to India also.

On the motion of Lord William Hay, a vote of thanks was passed unanimously to the Chairman.

The following letter, addressed to Lord William Hay, is published at the request of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji:—

32, GREAT ST. HELEN'S, LONDON,
8th July, 1868.

MY LORD,

I again take this opportunity of thanking you for pointing out to me without hesitation what you considered as an oversight on my part. I have no object in this matter except truth and justice. We may now see whether I have really made any mistake. You will please first remember that the words "perpetual," or "for ever," or "as long as the sun and moon shall endure," or words of that character, are not admitted by you as of any consequence in giving to the treaty a permanent character. You want the words "heirs and successors," or either of them, to make the Mysore Treaty a permanent one.

In the Travancore Treaty of 1795 the word "heirs" does not occur anywhere. The word "successors" does occur often; but, as you will see below, in the Treaty of 1805, great care is taken not only to strike out this word "successors," or any other words of similar import, but even pointedly to describe the Rajah of Travancore as one of the contracting parties, as "His Highness the Rajah of Travancore *for himself*," which words "for himself" are not used even in the Mysore Treaty. This itself would be sufficient to show that if the subsidiary Mysore Treaty was a personal one, the Travancore Treaty of 1805 was especially, by the special wording of that treaty, a still more personal one for the Rajah with whom that treaty was concluded.

Now, if under the 5th Article of the Mysore Treaty the English were entitled to take the administration of Mysore into their own hands and afterwards to claim that the country should not be restored because the Mysore Treaty was a personal one, it was the more logical, that as the Treaty of 1805 was concluded by the Rajah of Travancore "for himself" and as the special stipulation made "*by himself*" was infringed by the Rajah, that therefore under the treaty his country should have been annexed. I say that this single circumstance of the words "for himself" would have been enough, according to the argument adopted with the Mysore case, to annex Travancore to British India, which was not done.

But I proceed further, and show that the Travancore Treaty of 1805 was, *with all possible care*, made to correspond in every possible way with the Mysore Treaty, and whatever may have been Wellesley's objects (which it is not at present my purpose to search for), it is clear that the Rajah of Travancore was put in the same position as the Rajah of Mysore, or if anything in a worse one, by the words "for himself."

In the preamble of the Treaty of 1795* the Rajah, as a contracting party, is described not only by his own name, but is further described as "the *reigning Rajah* of Travancore," while in that of the Treaty of 1805 the Rajah, as a contracting party, is described simply as "His Highness the Rajah of Travancore *for himself*."

Article 2 of 1795 is modified by Article 1 of 1805. It will be seen in this that while in the Treaty of 1795 the words used are "the country of the said Rajah or of his successors," in that of 1805 the words "his successors" are omitted.

Article 3 of 1795 is modified by Article 3 of 1805. It will be seen that in the Article 3 of 1795, "The Rajah of Travancore doth engage for himself and *his successors*," while in Article 3 of 1805 the words "his successors" are omitted, and only "His Highness engages to pay," and only "His said Highness further agrees."

Article 4 of 1795 is modified by Articles 3 and 4 of 1805. It will be seen that while in Article 4 of 1795 the stipulations are on behalf of "the Rajah and his successors," in the corresponding Articles 3 and 4 of the Treaty of 1805 the words "his

* See Appendix, in which both the Treaties of 1795 and 1805 are given.

successors" are omitted, and instead of "the Rajah and his successors," the words are only "the said Maharajah" or "His Highness."

Articles 5 and 6 of the Treaty of 1795 are modified in the 7th and 8th Articles of the Treaty of 1805. Now it will be observed, that while in the Articles of 1795 the Rajah is described, "the Rajah present and future," "the Rajah or his successors," and "the reigning Rajah of Travancore for the time being," in Articles 7 and 8 of 1805, we have neither "Rajahs future," nor "his successors," nor "reigning for the time being," but only "His Highness Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor," "His said Highness," or "His Highness."

Article 7 of the Treaty of 1795 is repealed by Article 2 of 1805. Now in the Article 7 of 1795 we have "the said reigning Rajah for the time being," while in the 2nd Article of 1805 we have only "Ram Rajah Bahadoor." I do not suppose it was intended, or that it has been, or that it is likely to be, so acted upon, that after the death of this Ram Rajah Bahadoor of the Treaty of 1805 "his successors" would, by the 7th Article of the Treaty of 1795, cancelled, as above shown, be made to pay again what was released and discharged in this Article 2 of 1805.

Article 9 of the Treaty of 1795 is altered by the Articles 5 and 6 of the Treaty of 1805. Now it will be seen, that while in Article 9 of 1795 there are the words "Rajah or his successors' country in the Articles 5 and 6 of 1805, the words are only "the possessions of his Highness Ram Rajah Bahadoor," or "his Highness."

The above Articles 5 and 6 of 1805, are the most important Articles by which the British Government came to have any right to interfere in the administration of the country, and in providing for this new right, Wellesley not only omitted the words "successors, &c.," but adopted almost entirely the language, word for word, of the stipulations of the Mysore Treaty. This right of interference is essentially the provision of the Treaty of 1805, and can be exacted in terms of that treaty only, without any reference to any previous treaty, for previous treaties have nothing to say on this point; and so far as any interference is concerned, it is with Ram Rajah "for himself," as the contracting party, that the arrangement was made by Wellesley.

Now, is it a fair inference or not, that by so deliberately and carefully omitting in every Article of the Treaty of 1805 the words "successors," "for the time being," "Rajahs in future," &c., Wellesley deliberately intended to bring the position of the Rajah of Travancore to the level of the Rajah of Mysore? And is it not also fair to infer, that had that part of Article 9, and Article 11 of 1795 which are the only Articles (out of the few which have not been modified) that contain the word "successors" by implication or directly, been also modified or repeated in the Treaty of 1805, the words "successors" would have been deliberately and carefully struck out? If not, then why were they struck out throughout the whole of the Treaty of 1805? However, whether you admit this inference or not, what does the Article 9 of the Treaty of 1805, from which you quoted, amount to? It cannot certainly renew and confirm what is altered in the Treaty of 1805. It renews and confirms that part of the Treaty of 1795, which is not modified in that of 1805. Now there are only part of Article 9, and the Article 11, which contain directly, or by implication, the word "successors," to which this confirmation can be of any consequence for the present argument (if the confirmation is at all such as you suppose, which is not the case, as I shall show hereafter). But I ask again whether, had these clauses been at all touched in the Treaty of 1805, Wellesley would have allowed the word "successors" to remain? However, be this as it may, for whom does the Article 9 of 1805 "confirm and renew" the remaining Articles of 1795? It is distinctly for the "contracting parties." And who are the contracting parties? The Indian contracting party of the Treaty of 1805 is not, as in the Treaty of 1795, the "Rajah and successors," or "Rajahs future," or "for the time being," but only "His Highness the Rajah of Travancore for himself," and nobody else any more than I.

Now what I say is this, be the intentions of Wellesley what they may, they were the same with regard to the Rajahs of Travancore and Mysore, and the two treaties are on the same footing; and that this is clear by his having so carefully and deliberately expunged the words successors, &c., in every Article in the Treaty of 1805, by adopting the very phraseology of the Mysore Treaty in that of 1805, as far as possible, and by "confirming" in the 9th Article, for the "contracting parties" only, and not for "successors," &c.

I hope, therefore, you will now be satisfied that I have not been inaccurate in my statement, and that I had carefully compared the Treaties of 1795 and 1805; and I

am correct in stating, and in accordance with the Travancore Treaty of 1805 and the Mysore subsidiary Treaty, the Rajahs of Mysore and Travancore were deliberately put on the same footing by Wellesley, whatever that footing was.

As you do not desire any controversy upon the merits of the Mysore case annexation, &c., I do not enter into that discussion, and content myself with the simple remark, that in my humble opinion your remarks on that subject are refutable.

I remain, yours truly,

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

LORD WILLIAM HAY.

APPENDIX.

Treaty between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Travancore in 1795.

Proposed terms for a treaty of future perpetual friendship, alliance, and subsidy between the Honourable East India Company and Rajah Ram Raja Bahadoor, the reigning Rajah of Travancore, concerted between the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Esq., Governor of Bombay, on the part of the Honourable Sir John Shore, Bart., the Governor-General in Council of Fort William, in Bengal, in virtue of the powers vested in him by the King and Parliament of Great Britain and by the East India Company, to direct and control political affairs of all the Company's settlements in India, on the one part; and the said reigning Rajah of Travancore on the other: in consideration of the Rajah's application to the Bengal Government, in the month of September, 1793, to have a permanent treaty concluded with the English East India Company, and to settle and fix the terms of their old friendship and alliance, and for the defence of his country against foreign enemies. The result is contained in the following Articles:—

ARTICLE 1.

Before the breaking out of the last war between the Honourable Company and Tippoo Sultan, the three talooks of Paroor, Alungar, and Koonatnaar made part of the Rajah of Travancore's country; and having by the said Sultan been included in his cessions to the Honourable Company by the Treaty of Peace of the 18th of March, 1792, the said Company do, in view to their ancient friendship with and the plea of right preferred by the Rajah of Travancore, renounce every claim that they may have to the talooks in question, and all the said three talooks are accordingly left on the former footing as part of the said Rajah's country.

Treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance between the Honourable English East India Company Bahadoor, and the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor, Rajah of Travancore.

Whereas the treaty, concluded in the year 1795, between the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and His late Highness the Rajah of Travancore, was intended to defend and protect the Travancore country against foreign enemies, and to strengthen and fix the terms of the ancient friendship and alliance subsisting between the Company and the Rajah of Travancore; and whereas it is evident that the intentions of the contracting parties have not been duly fulfilled; and whereas the said Company and the Rajah of Travancore have judged expedient that additional provisions should at this time be made for the purpose of supplying the defects in the said Treaty, and of establishing the connection between the said contracting parties on a permanent basis of security in all times to come. Therefore, in order to carry into effect the said intentions, the present treaty is concluded by Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Macaulay, the Resident at Travancore, on the part and in the name of His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, K.P.; and K.C., Governor-General in Council of all the British possessions in the East Indies, and by His Highness the Rajah of Travancore, for himself, agreeably to the following Articles, which shall be binding on the contracting parties as long as the sun and moon shall endure:—

ARTICLE 2.

If any power or states, near or remote, by sea or land, shall, without aggression on the part of the Rajah of Travancore, attempt or begin hostility and war upon the country of the said Rajah or of his successors; under such circumstances, the expulsion of, and the protection of the country against, such enemies rest with the Company's Government.

ARTICLE 3.

In consideration of the stipulation in the Second Article, the Rajah of Travancore doth engage for himself and his successors to pay annually at Anjengo, both in peace and war, a sum equivalent to the expense of three of the Honourable Company's battalions of sepoys, together with a company of European artillery and two companies of lascars.

ARTICLE 4.

The Company stipulate that this force of infantry and artillery shall, if the Rajah desire it, always be stationed in his country, or on the frontiers near it, or in any other part within the Company's possessions where he shall prefer; and that they shall always be in readiness: and in respect to such requisitions as the Rajah and his successors may have occasion to address to the officer in command of these troops to proceed to act against foreign enemies who shall have invaded the said Rajah's country, it is proper that such commanding officer stand previously furnished with instructions from the Government of that Presidency whence he shall have been detached; or otherwise, he is immediately, on such a requisition, to procure instructions and the sanction of his said superiors for repelling such invasion; but in the event of the Rajah's country being so unexpectedly invaded by an enemy that the urgency of the danger or attack from without shall not admit of deferring the necessary operations till the orders of the Government of such Presidency can

ARTICLE 1.

The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be considered as the friends and enemies of both; the Honourable Company especially engaging to defend and protect the territories of the Rajah of Travancore against all enemies whatsoever.

ARTICLE 3.

In consideration of the stipulation and release contained in the first and second Articles, whereby the Company becomes liable to heavy and constant expense, while great relief is afforded to the finances of the Rajah, His Highness engages to pay annually to the said Company a sum equivalent to the expense of one regiment of Native Infantry, in addition to the sum now payable for the forces subsidized by the Third Article of the subsidiary Treaty of 1795; the said amount to be paid in six equal instalments, to commence from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and five; and His said Highness further agrees, that the disposal of the said sum, together with the arrangement and employment of the troops to be maintained by it, whether stationed within the Travancore country or within the Company's limits, shall be left entirely to the Company.

ARTICLE 4.

Should it become necessary for the Company to employ a larger force than that which is stipulated for in the preceding Article, to protect the territories of the said Maharajah against attack or invasion, His Highness agrees to contribute jointly with the Company towards the discharge of the increased expense thereby occasioned, such a sum as shall appear, on an attentive consideration of the means of His said Highness, to bear a just and reasonable proportion to the actual net revenues of his Highness.

ARTICLE 4—*continued.*

he received, the commanding officer is, under such circumstances, to apply immediately, and without objection, the force under his command to the defence and protection of the Rajah and his successors; and should it so happen that the aforesaid force and the Rajah's own army be at any time found unequal to cope with and defend the country against the superior force of the enemy, the expense of such further troops as it may be necessary and requisite for the company to furnish in such instances is to be altogether at the said Company's cost; nor shall their Government anywise object to furnish such additional force, the expense of which shall in no respect be chargeable on the Rajah or his successors; nor shall the Company ever apply for or demand any sum on that account, nor possess any plea or claim to make any further requisition for pecuniary aid from the Rajah or his successors, by reason of any warfare or hostility that may hereafter eventually occur.

ARTICLE 5.

As the Company do only engage to defend and protect the country dependent on the Rajah of Travancore against unprovoked attacks, it is therefore to be clearly and distinctly understood between the parties that the Rajahs, present and future, are not to commit any hostile aggression towards any other State, whether Indian or European; and in the event of the Rajah or his successors having any disputes of a political nature or tendency, it is necessary that the same shall be transmitted by the latter to the Honourable Company's Government, who will determine thereon according to justice and policy and mutual concert.

ARTICLE 6.

The reigning Rajah of Travancore for the time being shall not keep in his service, in any civil or military capacity, nor allow to remain within his dominions as merchants, or under any other plea or pretext, the subjects or citizens of any nation being at war with Great Britain or with the East India Company; nor under any circumstances of peace or war allow any European nation to obtain settlement (*i.e.* territory or places under his authority) within the same, nor enter into any new engagements with any European or Indian States without the previous concurrence of the British Governments in India,

ARTICLE 7.

His Highness Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor engages that he will be guided by a sincere and cordial attention to the relations of peace and amity established between the English Company and their allies, and that he will carefully abstain from any interference in the affairs of any state in alliance with the said English Company Bahadoor, or of any state whatever; and for securing the object of this stipulation, it is further stipulated and agreed that no communication or correspondence with any foreign state whatever shall be holden by His said Highness without the previous knowledge and sanction of the said English Company Bahadoor.

ARTICLE 8.

His Highness stipulates and agrees that he will not admit any European foreigners into his service without the concurrence of the English Company Bahadoor, and that he will apprehend and deliver to the Company's Government all Europeans, of whatsoever description, who shall be found within the territories of His said Highness without regular passports from the English Government; it being His Highness's determined resolution not to suffer, even for a day, any European to remain within his territories unless by consent of the said Company.

ARTICLE 7.

When the Company shall require of the Rajah of Travancore any aid of his troops to assist them in war, it shall be incumbent on the said reigning Rajah for the time being to furnish such aid, to such extent and in such numbers as may be in his power, from his regular infantry and cavalry, exclusive of the native Nayrs of his country, which succours thus furnishable by the Rajah, as far as shall be consistent with the safety of his own country, shall be liable to be employed as far by the Company's Government on either side of the Peninsula as to Madura and Calicut; and to be, during such service, at the Company's expense and under their orders.

ARTICLE 8.

That the pepper contract with the Company shall continue in perpetuity, liable, however, after the expiration of the period of the existing contract, to such modifications as to price, period, or quantity as may, from time to time, be agreed upon between the parties.

ARTICLE 9.

The Company engage not to impede in any wise the course of the rule or of administration of the Rajah of Travancore's Government, nor at all to possess themselves or enter upon any part of what regards the management of the present Rajah's or his successors' country. At the same time, it is provided that all the former agreements between the Honourable Company and the Rajahs of Travancore, relative to the settlements of Anjengo and Eddowas of Erawa, and to the Company's privileges in respect to trade throughout the Rajah's dominions, remain in full force, according to the practice hitherto; and as otherwise the object of this treaty is principally to provide for the purposes of external defence, it bears therefore no reference whatever to the Rajah's situation as a tributary to the Carnatic, concerning which the Rajah of Travancore doth in the sincerity of his heart, of his own accord, acknowledge and declare that in the line of his former fealty, as from of old established, towards the Circar of the soubah of Arcot, there shall never occur any difference or deviation.

ARTICLE 2.

Whereas by the Seventh Article of the Treaty concluded in the year 1795 between the Ram Rajah Bahadoor and the English East India Company Bahadoor, it was stipulated "that when the Company shall require any aid of his troops to assist them in war, it shall be incumbent on the said reigning Rajah for the time being, to furnish such aid, to such extent and in such numbers as may be in his power, from his regular infantry and cavalry, exclusive of the native Nayrs of his country," and the Company being now willing entirely to release the Rajah from the obligation incurred under the said stipulation, it is hereby concluded and agreed that the Ram Rajah Bahadoor is for ever discharged from the aforesaid burdensome obligation.

ARTICLE 5.

And whereas it is indispensably necessary that effectual and lasting security should be provided against any failure in the funds destined to defray either the expenses of the permanent military force in time of peace, or the extraordinary expenses described in the preceding Article of the present Treaty, it is hereby stipulated and agreed between the contracting parties, that whenever the Governor-General in Council of Fort William in Bengal, shall have reason to apprehend such failure in the funds so destined, the said Governor-General in Council shall be at liberty, and shall have full power and right, either to introduce such regulations and ordinances as he shall deem expedient for the internal management and collection of the revenues, or for the better ordering of any other branch and department of the Government of Travancore, or to assume and bring under the direct management of the servants of the said Company Bahadoor, such part or parts of the territorial possessions of His Highness the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor as shall appear to him, the said Governor-General in Council, necessary to render the said funds efficient and available, either in time of peace or war.

ARTICLE 6.

And it is hereby further agreed, that, whenever the said Governor-General in Council shall signify to the said Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor that it is become necessary to carry in effect the provisions of the fifth Article, His said Highness Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor shall immediately issue orders to his amils or other officers, either for carrying into effect the said regulations and ordinances according to the tenor of the Fifth Article, or for placing the territories required under the exclusive authority and control of the English Company Bahadoor; and in case His Highness shall not issue such orders within ten days from the time when the application shall have been formally made to him, then the said Governor-General in Council shall be at liberty to issue orders by his own authority either for carrying into effect the said regulations and ordinances, or for assuming the management and collection of the said territories, as he shall judge most expedient for the purpose of securing the efficiency of the said military funds and of providing for the effectual protection of the country and the welfare of the people: Provided always, that whenever and so long as any part of His said Highness's territories shall be placed and shall remain under the exclusive authority and control of the said East India Company, the Governor-General in Council shall render to His Highness a true and faithful account of the revenues and produce of the territories so assumed: Provided also, that in no case whatever shall His Highness's actual receipts or annual income arising out of his territorial revenue be less than the sum of two lakhs of rupees, together with one-fifth part of the net revenues of the whole of his territories, which sum of two lakhs of rupees, together with the amount of one-fifth of the said net revenues, the East India Company engages at all times and in every possible case to secure and cause to be paid for His Highness's use.

ARTICLE 10.

All unsettled claims of a pecuniary nature which the contracting parties may have had upon each other, relative to warlike expenses, up to the period of the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace with Tippoo Sultan, under date the 18th of March, 1792, shall be cancelled and declared null and void.

ARTICLE 11.

The Company engage that none of the Rajahs of Malabar under their jurisdiction shall be allowed to commit excesses in the country, or to encroach on the rights of the Rajah of Travancore or of his successors; and both the contracting parties engage not to give shelter to the rebels, whosever they may be, of either the two states within the country of Malabar; but, on the contrary, to seize on, and mutually to deliver up, such persons.

ARTICLE 12.

On the commercial vessels of the said Rajahs frequenting any of the ports in India appertaining to the Honourable Company, they shall obtain every requisite assistance and supply, on paying for the same; and in like manner the Honourable Company's ships shall experience the like assistance and supply in the ports and roads of his country.

This proposed Treaty, consisting of twelve articles, has been concerted in the neighbourhood of Anjengo, on the 17th of November, 1795, of the Christian era, corresponding with the 5th of Cartikae, 971 of the Malabar style, between the reigning Rajah of Travancore and the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Esq., Governor of Bombay, on this footing:— That the said proposed Treaty shall by the latter be transmitted to the Honourable the Governor-General in Council, when, after his approval, he will forward it to England; and, having thence also been approved, is within two years to be returned under the seal and ratification of the Company, in the accustomed form, and delivered to the Rajah; from which time the preceding concerted copy, being considered as a full and complete voucher, shall be strictly adhered to and conformed to by both Governments. The amount of the subsidy under these proposed terms of perpetual treaty, shall without fail be annually paid in cash at Anjengo, in three equal kists or instalments, at the expiration of every four months.

(Signed) JONATHAN DUNCAN.

ARTICLE 9.

Such parts of the Treaty of Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred and ninety-five (1795) between the English East India Company and the late Rajah of Travancore, as are calculated to strengthen the alliance, to cement the friendship, and to identify the interests of the contracting parties, are hereby renewed and

ARTICLE 9—*continued.*

confirmed; and accordingly His Highness hereby promises to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the English Government shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer to him, with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture, and industry, or any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness's interests, the happiness of his people, and the mutual welfare of both States.

ARTICLE 10.

This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, being this day, the twelfth day of January, One thousand eight hundred and five, settled and concluded at the fortress of Teeroovanandapooram, in Travancore, by Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Macaulay, on behalf and in the name of His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, K.P. and K.C., Governor-General, in Council, with the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadur; he has delivered to the said Maharajah one copy of the same in English and Persian, signed and sealed by him, and His Highness has delivered to the Lieutenant-Colonel aforesaid another copy, also in Persian and English, bearing his seal and signature, and signed and sealed by Valoo Tomby, Dewan to the Maharajah; and the Lieutenant-Colonel aforesaid has engaged to procure and deliver to the said Maharajah, without delay, a copy of the same under the seal and signature of His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General, in Council, on the receipt of which by the said Maharajah, the present Treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on the Honourable the English East India Company and on the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadur of Travancore, and the copy of it now delivered to the said Maharajah shall be returned.

(Signed) C. MACAULAY.

*Ratified by the Governor-General
in Council, on 2nd May, 1805.*

ANNUAL MEETING, SATURDAY, JULY 18, 1868.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD LYVEDEN, PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION,
IN THE CHAIR.

COLONEL HALY protested against the Meeting being considered the Annual Meeting.

MR. BONNERJEE said, that if Colonel Haly intended to move that the Meeting be adjourned, he should second it, as he intended to move that the Meeting be adjourned, in order to enable the Managing Committee to give a fuller report of the transactions of the past year.

The motion to adjourn was put to the Meeting and negatived.

General NORTH moved the adoption of the Report, which, at the suggestion of the Chairman, was considered paragraph by paragraph.

Paragraphs 1 to 5 were agreed to.

On Paragraph 6—

MR. BONNERJEE moved:—"That this Meeting, while it is thankful to the Managing Committee for the care with which they have prepared the Financial Report of the Association, is of opinion that it is desirable to give a fuller *résumé* of the work done by the Association during the past year, and that this Meeting do adjourn to a future day, in order to enable the Managing Committee to give such fuller Report."

MR. MEHTA seconded the motion.

The CHAIRMAN stated that the Meeting having already decided that they would now proceed with the Report, he could not put the question of adjourning the Meeting to any future time; but that he would, if Mr. Bonnerjee pleased, put the question, that a fuller Report be made by the Managing Committee in the future.

General NORTH observed that the Managing Committee had made their Reports as succinct as possible, because the full report of the proceedings was to be found in the Journal; and he was afraid that if a fuller account of the transactions of the Association were given in the Report, people would not care to look at the Journal.

Major EVANS BELL supported the recommendation of Mr. Bonnerjee, that a fuller account of the proceedings should be given in the Report; but he thought an additional paragraph might be at once drafted and attached to the Report, giving a short notice of the deputations to the Secretary of State, and one or two other important proceedings.

Major-General JACOB and Mr. TAYLER made a few observations, concurring with what had fallen from Mr. Bonnerjee and Major Evans Bell.

After a few other remarks from Mr. Low and other Members—

MR. BONNERJEE withdrew his motion, and proposed in lieu thereof that it be an instruction to the Managing Committee to add a brief supplement, giving a *résumé* of the year's transactions of the Association to their Report as already published.

MR. BRIGGS seconded it (suggesting at the same time that the Proceedings of the Association should be published in the shape in which the Proceedings of the Social Science Association were published, and distributed throughout the world gratis).

The motion was put and carried, and Paragraph 6 was agreed to.

Paragraph 7. Articles 1 to 7 inclusive were agreed to.

On Article 8—

Colonel HALY moved the addition of the words, "with power to add to their number."

Colonel SYKES objected to the introduction of the words, as being contrary to the usual custom in like institutions.

MR. BRIGGS seconded the motion, referring to the Corn-law League as being a society of which the Council was unlimited.

The motion was negatived, and Article 8 was agreed to.

Article 9 was agreed to.

On Article 10—

Colonel HALY moved in substitution of the words "the Council shall appoint a Secretary," that "the Annual Meeting shall appoint a Secretary."

MR. BRIGGS seconded the motion, stating that he would have been content that the Council should appoint a Secretary, if the former motion had been carried to make the Council unlimited.

The motion was negatived by the Meeting, and Article 10 was agreed to.
Articles 11 and 12 were agreed to.

On Article 13—

Mr. Low proposed to strike out the words "from its own body," and after the word "Members" to insert the words "of the Association."

The amendment having been seconded and agreed to, the Article as amended was passed.

Article 14 was agreed to.

On Article 15—

Mr. Low proposed the addition of the words, "or in the absence thereof, any Member of the Association."

The Article so amended was agreed to.

Articles 16, 17, and 18 were agreed to.

On Article 19—

Mr. BONNERJEE proposed, and Colonel SYKES seconded the addition of the words, after the word "audited," "by one Member of the Council, and one Member taken from the general body of Members of the Society."

The Article as amended was agreed to.

On Article 20—

Mr. BONNERJEE moved, and Mr. TATLER seconded, that the Article be struck out.

Mr. DADABHAI NAORON having explained the object of the rule, suggested that as the Association had not had much experience of the working of it, it would be well to let it stand till the next Meeting.

Mr. BONNERJEE modified his motion by proposing that the words at the commencement of the Article, "Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the Council," should stand, striking out the rest.

The Meeting negatived the amendment and passed the Article as it stood.

On Article 21—

Mr. BONNERJEE proposed that it should read as follows, "that the Council shall have power to make and alter any bye-laws for the management of the Association, and all bye-laws shall be, soon after they are made or altered, circulated amongst the Members of the Association."

Mr. Low suggested that there should be inserted after the word "bye-laws," the words, "such bye-laws to be published in the first number of the Journal issued subsequently."

Mr. BONNERJEE objected to such words, the Journal only coming out every quarter.

Mr. Low suggested that they might be inserted in the next notice calling a Meeting.

The Article was agreed to.

Article 22 was agreed to.

On Article 23, referring to the Journal of the Association, the following discussion took place:—

Mr. DADABHAI NAORON.—With a view to the proper understanding of this Article, I wish to be allowed to make a few observations. We are told in the Report that 271*l.* has been the cost of three numbers of the Journal, but if you look a little closer into the matter you will see that it is not only 271*l.*, but a great deal more. If you look at the first account you will see an item of 48*l.* for reporting, which strictly speaking is for the Journal. Then there is freights, postages, &c., 89*l.*, of which a large portion belongs to the Journal. In the same manner in the next account there are similar amounts. The expense therefore of the Journal is not only what is stated in the body of the Report as 271*l.*, but a great deal more. And how do we stand at present? The account shows a balance of 232*l.*, you might add 35*l.* more, because that is a loan to the Princes of Kattywar, which they will return to us, therefore there is 261*l.* odd in our hands. But then you must remember that one of the Resolutions passed at the last Annual Meeting was, that the Secretary should be as far as possible remunerated for his arduous services in behalf of the Association, but up to this time only 80*l.* has been paid to him, and I think it will be absolutely necessary for the Council, as soon as possible, to appropriate something to the Secretary. I think nothing less than 100*l.* would be satisfactory or reasonable, which would be only 180*l.* for two years' hard and harassing work. We all know what the character of that work has been, and we all know the amount of influence which he has been able to bring in support of this Association. That will be the first thing the Council will

have to do. That 100*l.* having been paid, we will have only 160*l.* in hand. Then the subscriptions received for the Journal are so deficient, that not only has the Association paid the price of 900 copies, but there is a deficit at this moment of 100*l.*, so that we start now only with a balance of 60*l.* in hand. That is the true state of the account, and we must clearly understand that this is owing to nearly 500*l.* being absorbed in the publication of the three numbers of the Journal. That being the state of our finances, we see the absolute necessity of doing something by which the Journal should pay itself. It may be true that if we charge 5*s.* for the Journal it will destroy it altogether, but what are we to do? We shall be happy to hear any suggestion by which we can make the Journal pay itself. We have now nearly 600 Members and 60 Life Members, whose money we have used up. We have had donations to the amount of nearly 300*l.*, which we also have used up, but which properly ought to have become capital; but supposing we were wound up at this moment, all that we should have in hand would be 60*l.*

Captain BARBER.—78*l.* has been received since last Tuesday, so that there will be that in addition.

Mr. DADABHAI NAROJI.—Say about 130*l.*; that is all we have in hand. I give this explanation more particularly for my native friends in India, that they may know our position. Unless they come forward with that amount of patriotism which they have hitherto shown, to support this Journal, half the strength or three-fourths of the strength of the Association is gone. It is by the circulation of the Journal among Members of Parliament who take an interest in Indian affairs, that information is supplied to them concerning Indian matters, and it is by the circulation of the Journal among officials in India that we bring our influence to bear upon them. Unless we give to Members of Parliament and to Indian officials the opportunity which the Journal gives them to read what we have to say, we shall not be able to do any good whatever. Therefore I do not see that we can substitute anything better for this article, though at first sight it strikes one as being somewhat detrimental to the interests of the Journal. If anything better could be substituted, I am certain the Managing Committee and all the Members would be most happy that it should be adopted.

General NORTH.—It will be in the recollection of the Members who attended the first Meetings of this Association, that it was proposed to have a subscription of two guineas per annum, which was to include the right to a copy of the Journal. That was thought to be too high a rate of subscription, and a motion was carried that the subscription should be 1*l.* per annum for Membership and an optional subscription of 5*s.* for the Journal. It was supposed at that time that every Member would subscribe his 5*s.* for the Journal, but as you see very few have subscribed to it, and it has become a very difficult question how we are to pay for the Journal. We have discussed it over and over again at the Managing Committee, and this proposition was at last agreed to be submitted to you, as being most likely to be successful, that the Journal should be published quarterly, and that the price to subscribers should be 5*s.*, and to non-subscribers 10*s.*

Captain PALMER.—If you have a difficulty in selling copies of the Journal now, how much greater will be the difficulty when you raise the price of the Journal to 5*s.* to Members and 10*s.* to the public generally. Will any of the outside public be likely to take a copy for 10*s.*? I think the point in which the alteration should be made is this: You might reduce the expense of reporting; a great deal of the Journal consists of papers sent in to the Association by Members, and I think the Secretary might give a short *résumé* of the after-conversation. That would do away with the expense of reporting. Again, why are the articles printed in *extenso*? They might be cut down by the Secretary, and by that means the Journal might come out in a cheaper form once a-month. The Journal comes out so long after the interest in the particular subject has passed away, that you do not get so many subscribers to it as you otherwise would. In other associations the subscribers pay 1*l.* a-year, and they receive the reports gratis.

Mr. LOW.—You are alluding to associations with perhaps 3000 members.

Captain PALMER.—Is not it suicidal policy, when nobody will purchase it at present, to increase the price? What you ought to do is to cut down the articles, and have them printed in a cheaper form on thinner paper and in smaller type. I propose that the price should remain as it is at present.

Colonel HALY.—I second that motion; if you make it cheaper, it will sell better. I think that we ought to be very careful how we curtail it. If you begin to cut down

what each Member says, I think you will dissatisfy all those who speak at our meetings. I think we have already dealt with that by allowing each speaker to speak only ten minutes. If you permit anyone to cut out portions of the papers read or portions of the observations of the speakers in the subsequent discussions you will dissatisfy everyone. Therefore I propose that they should be printed *in extenso*.

Mr. Low.—I will very briefly call the attention of the Meeting to the state of our accounts. Let us look this in the face with regard to the publication of the Journal for the future. It has had my serious consideration for many months past. We have received 520*l.* from Life Members during the past two years—that is to say, to the end of 1867. We cannot expect that that item in our account will be anything like that in future. We have expended that, and we are actually insolvent at the present time. We have a balance of 232*l.*; but after we have paid our Secretary and bills unpaid for the Journal, we have nothing in hand. We have 395 subscriptions in arrear. Take our subscribers at 600. Take thirty off them for Life Members—that reduces the number of paying subscribers to 570. Then 395 of those are in arrear. Suppose we get 300*l.* out of that 395*l.*, it will bring our income to something under 500*l.* a-year. The cost of the rooms is 160*l.* a-year. I put 200*l.* at the least for our office establishment, clerks, &c., without the Secretary; 50*l.* for the expense of postage and various incidentals—that is 410*l.*, which leaves 90*l.* to publish the Journal. How can you do it? Your Journal has cost you 500*l.*, and unless you can increase your number of Members from 600 to something considerable you cannot publish your Journal; therefore it resolves itself into this: If this Article 23 stands, the Council, taking into consideration the financial state of the Association, will publish the Journal or not, as they can. If you do not leave it so, I am afraid the Council for the future will find their hands tied, and will not have the money to carry out whatever resolution you may pass. The intention of this 23rd Article was that the Council should in their discretion publish the Journal or not. If they have the funds they will publish it; if they have not, they cannot. That is our position.

General JACOB.—It seems to me, as a matter of course, it must be left to the discretion of the Council to publish the Journal or not, because if they have not money, they are not justified in running us into debt. I think all would agree that it must be left to their discretion. The question is how to raise the funds necessary for the Journal, which is admitted to be such a useful adjunct to our Institution. I think a circular should be addressed to every Member, stating that the Journal will probably have to be given up for want of funds, and asking how far each Member would be inclined to support it, and what amount he would give annually to continue it; and when the answers came in you would have something to go on in your calculations of probable receipts. Another thing I would suggest with a view to increasing our funds, so that we may be able to continue to publish our Journal, is this: that more encouragement should be given to those native princes and chiefs of India who come forward with liberal donations to help the Institution. For instance, the Rao of Kutch, one of the principal chiefs in Western India, sent 100*l.* through me to the Society, to show his sense of the utility of such an Institution and the services that it had already rendered for the benefit of the natives of India. I do not know that any further notice was taken of it beyond a letter of thanks. I think that the Council should do something to stimulate others to come forward in that way by recognizing the benefit they have conferred upon the Society, by giving them some honorary appointment, or in some other way.

Colonel SYKES.—I wish to say two or three words on this question; for really it is a very important one. The permanence of the Institution rests upon it. Without a Journal, what assurance have you to give to the people of India that you are really doing anything? They will not send money if they do not see that you are working for them. Therefore the Journal is bound up with the life-blood of the Institution. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji says that the Journal is for the information of Members of Parliament. I can tell him that precisely in proportion to the magnitude of the Journal will be the disinclination to read it by Members of Parliament; for they cannot read a fourth part of what is sent to them, and therefore what you send them should be as short and succinct as possible, and compressed within the narrowest limits; but the people of India expect details. It is in my opinion imprudent and impolitic to propose that Members should pay 5*s.* for each Journal, and that the public should pay 10*s.*; a better plan would be that of the United Service Institution, of which I have been a member for thirty-five years. We found that our funds were

quite insufficient to meet the expenses of the Journal, though we had three or four thousand members paying 10s. a-year. At last it was proposed that there should be a voluntary subscription of an extra 1l. each per annum from the members. We immediately found 300 or 400 members coming with their extra subscriptions. Those who paid the extra 1l. per annum got the Journal, supported the credit of the Institution, and enabled it by those means to continue the Journal regularly quarterly. I think it would be advisable to adopt that plan in our case; that is to say, to send out circulars to the Members at large, inviting the subscription of an extra 1l. each. As for this proposition, it must be in my opinion a failure.

MR. EASTWICK.—I have a few words to say upon this subject, which, as Colonel Sykes says, is one of the greatest importance. I think we must have a publication quarterly, in order to show what the Society is really doing; but if it is published at this price, it is a prohibitive price. And I also disagree with the proposition to charge more to the general public than to Members. I should propose that the Journal should be published quarterly at the price of half-a-crown to Members and to the general public; and if any subsidiary measure such as that which Colonel Sykes has proposed is thought advisable, that is, that Members who are willing to subscribe should give a particular subscription in order to keep it afloat, let that be done also; but let us have the Journal published quarterly and regularly, and at a moderate price.

MAJOR EVANS BELL.—I beg to second that all the words from "the price" down to "10s." be left out, and that the words "the price of each number of the Journal shall be 2s. 6d." be substituted. Putting the price at 5s. to Members and 10s. to the public is not a practical proposition at all, it would be inoperative.

MR. LOW.—Suppose we strike out the words from "decide" altogether, leaving the question of price altogether out.

GENERAL NORTH.—The price to be fixed by the Council.

MR. LOW (to Mr. Eastwick).—Do you propose to make it compulsory that the Council shall publish it regularly?

MR. EASTWICK.—Yes.

MR. LOW.—Where is the money to come from?

MR. TAYLER.—All I am going to submit to the Meeting is this, we seem to be in inextricable difficulty. We all agree that the Journal is necessary, and we all agree that we cannot publish it. We all agree that 10s. is a prohibitory price; but we also agree that unless we put such a price upon it, it will not be published at all. Unless we take the bull by the horns, and propose an increase of subscription, we shall never get out of the difficulty.

MR. BRIGGS.—If the last speaker proposes that as an amendment, I wish to second it. My idea of the thing is this, that the subscriptions shall be hereafter 2l. per annum, instead of 1l. per annum. I, for one, am willing to make my next subscription 2l. instead of 1l. By that means we should get funds to publish our Journal whenever there was something to publish. I am not aware whether our Journal is published monthly or quarterly.

CAPTAIN BARBER.—Whenever there is enough matter to make a number.

MR. BRIGGS.—I should propose that the Journal should be published weekly, like the 'Journal of the Society of Arts,' and that it should be sent through the whole of the country gratis. Then, I think the Journal has cost us rather too much: it could be done for half the money. I would undertake a contract to do it for half the money.

COLONEL HALY.—With regard to this proposition to increase the subscription to 2l., I think we have lost sight of this, that we cannot get in our 1l. If we made it 2l., it would defeat its own object: you would be poorer next year than now.

CHAIRMAN.—I do not wish to impose any suggestion of mine upon the Association, but we find by the Report that there are 395 subscriptions for 1868 in arrear, and twenty-nine subscriptions for 1867. We can hardly suppose that if the subscriptions were increased the accounts would show a better result in the way of arrears than they do at present. It seems to me that it does not much signify what price you put upon the Journal to the general public, for at the price of 2s. 6d. there have been only twelve persons who have bought it; therefore, whether you put the price of 2s. 6d. or 10s. upon it, it is not likely to have a very extensive sale. But if the Association feel that it is an essential adjunct to the Association, I would suggest not to have an additional subscription for membership, but to have a special subscription for the

Journal, to be devoted to the Journal—and which special subscription might be dropped in future if the Journal increases in sale.

Mr. Low.—Practically, will not that come to the same thing as the Article as it stands? We have received altogether less than 80*l.* towards the Journal at the present subscription of 5*s.* If you propose to increase the subscription by 1*l.* for the purpose of contribution towards the expenses of the Journal, the question is, Shall we get it in? I move that the article stand as it does to the word “decide,” leaving it to the Council to publish it or not, as they can.

Mr. TAYLER.—Is any extent of the default in payment of subscription hopeless, or is it from want of activity in collecting?

Mr. Low.—I take it, as far as these subscriptions in arrear are concerned, if we get in 800*l.* we will be very fortunate.

Mr. BONNERJEE proposed an amendment in the Article, to the effect that the words “papers submitted for discussion shall be the property of the Association,” be omitted, and that these words be inserted in their place, “that the Association shall have the right of publishing the papers, first in its Journal, either *in extenso* or not, as the Council may decide, and that the copyright of the papers shall belong to the writers of them.” He thought that those who read papers before the Association would have a right to complain if the Association, at the same time that it did not itself publish their papers *in extenso*, prevented the writers of them from publishing them *in extenso*. And, moreover, by the time the Journal came out, the interest was very often gone in the particular subject.

Mr. Low thought that if the papers were not to be the property of the Association, they might be published elsewhere, and so the interest in the Journal would be destroyed.

General JACOB supported the proposition of Mr. Bonnerjee.

Major EVANS BELL thought that the papers should not be the property of the Association. He could not see the force of the objection of Mr. Low, that the papers might be published elsewhere, and so the interest in the Journal would be destroyed. If the Council decided that a paper was not likely to be interesting, or that its previous publication, by the writer of it, had diminished its interest, they would not publish it.

The CHAIRMAN proposed that the words “shall be the property of the Association” should be left out.

Mr. TAYLER seconded the motion that the words “shall be the property of the Association” should be left out.

The motion that the words “shall be the property of the Association” be omitted was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN having put that the Article as amended stand part of the rules,

Colonel SYKES again urged upon the Association the advisability of, at all events, inviting the Members of the Association to give an extra voluntary subscription.

Mr. TAYLER suggested that the purchase of the Journal at 5*s.* should be compulsory upon Members.

The CHAIRMAN thought that there would be a difficulty in making it compulsory; but the Members of the Association might be invited by circular to subscribe.

The Article as amended was agreed to.

On Paragraph 8—

Mr. BONNERJEE proposed, and Mr. MEHTA seconded, that the name of “D. D. Cama, Esq.,” should be substituted for “R. N. Fowler, Esq.”

Colonel HALY proposed the following names in substitution of those in the Report: “Mr. W. J. Stewart, Mr. Bonnerjee, Mr. Dale, Mr. Cama, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Coleman, Mr. Mehta, General Balfour, Mr. Porter, Mr. Elliot, Dr. Goldstücker, Mr. Vaus Agnew, Mr. Roberts, Sir George Pollock, Dr. Dutt, Sir Edward Green, Mr. Powis, Colonel French, Mr. Knight, Mr. Lawson, Mr. Wood, Mr. Oakes, Sir John Low, Dr. Waring, Mr. Copleston.”

There being no seconder, the list fell to the ground.

It was then suggested that the names of the proposed new Council should be put one by one.

Colonel HALY proposed the name of Dr. Goldstücker instead of S. P. Low, Esq.

Mr. BONNERJEE seconded the motion.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI and Major EVANS BELL strongly objected to striking out the name of Mr. Low.

Mr. BONNERJEE stated, that though he would like to see Dr. Göldstücker on the Council, he would not like to see Mr. Low off it, and therefore he wished to withdraw from seconding the motion for his removal.

Major EVANS BELL proposed, that as it was desirable to have a working body on the Council, the name of Dr. Göldstücker should be substituted for General Sir George Pollock, who he thought might more appropriately be made a Vice-President.

General NORTH suggested that the object of the Meeting might probably be met by the names now proposed being recorded by the Secretary to fill up the first vacancies that occurred in the Council, the name of Dr. Göldstücker being placed at the head of the list.

On Paragraph 8 being put—

Colonel HALY again protested against the Meeting now dealing with this question, submitting that it should be postponed for a future occasion; and he objected to so many Members of Parliament being on the list, on the ground that their time was too much occupied for them to be able to attend the Meetings of the Association.

Mr. TAYLER thought, on the contrary, that the addition of the names of Members of Parliament was more calculated to give strength to the Association than anything else.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI stated, that Mr. Stansfield having stated that he was unable to attend, the name of Colonel Ffrench had been substituted.

Colonel HALY proposed Mr. Fitzwilliam in the place of General North as Vice-Chairman of Council, but no one seconding the proposition, it fell to the ground.

Paragraph 8 was then agreed to.

Paragraph 9 was agreed to.

Mr. BONNERJEE moved a vote of thanks to the Members of the Managing Committee and to the Secretary for their exertions in promoting the interests of the Society.

Major EVANS BELL seconded the motion.

General NORTH returned thanks; and proposed that the Meeting should elect Lord Lyveden as the President of the Association for the ensuing year.

The proposal having been received with acclamation by the Meeting, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said that it was not necessary for him to second it.

Mr. Low proposed the re-election of the Vice-Presidents, with the addition of the Rao of Kutch.

Colonel HALY seconded it, and proposed several names in addition.

Mr. BONNERJEE suggested that the name of Lord Napier of Magdala should be added.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI pointed out that this Meeting could not appoint the Vice-Presidents, they having already passed Article 9, which provided that the Council may from time to time nominate Vice-Presidents, subject to the confirmation of the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Mr. BONNERJEE moved, and Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

EVENING MEETING, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1868,

LIBUT-GEN. SIR ARTHUR COTTON, K.C.S.I., IN THE CHAIR,

Called for the consideration of—

A Memorial to the Secretary of State for India with reference to the question of Irrigation;

AND ALSO

A Paper by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, on the Duties of Local Indian Associations.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI moved the adjournment of the discussion on the Memorial till the end of November. He thought, notwithstanding there being an average attendance of members, the subject was of such importance that an opportunity should be given to those members who were absent, and who took an interest in the question of irrigation, to attend and take part in the discussion on the Memorial, so that, after a

resolution had been come to upon the subject at a large and influential Meeting of the Association, they might go to the Secretary of State with greater weight.

Mr. TAYLER seconded the motion for adjourning the discussion.

Mr. BRIGGS opposed the motion on the ground that the importance of carrying out works of irrigation in India was self-evident, and not a matter for discussion.

Mr. MACLEAN thought there was one reason on the face of the Memorial why it would be desirable to postpone the discussion, *viz.* its want of definiteness, there being, for instance, no suggestion in the Memorial as to where the money should come from to carry out the irrigation works, or under what administration they should be carried out.

Mr. TAYLER explained that the Council, in agreeing to the Memorial, considered that in the present state of political affairs, the Secretary of State for India possibly representing a moribund Ministry, the Association might be able to get from him such a public record of his opinion upon the matter, as might afford either encouragement and support to his successor, or a guarantee and pledge from himself; and the Council thought that anything but a general expression of the conviction of the Association of the vast importance of carrying out a great scheme of irrigation, and a prayer that the Secretary of State would express an opinion that vigorous action was immediately required, would be out of place just now. The Memorial referred particularly to the scheme of Colonel Strachey, which scheme dealt with such questions as those to which Mr. Maclean had alluded, *viz.* the raising of the funds, the mode of distribution, and so on. The Memorial contained no practical suggestion, but it asked the Government to take action upon that comprehensive scheme drawn out by one of the Government officers, and accepted by the Government of India, and which at the present time only existed upon paper.

Mr. BRIGGS, in some further remarks, urged the importance of the Association taking some action upon the matter at once, seeing that while the discussion of the subject was postponed, hundreds and thousands of our fellow-subjects were dying for want of food; and he considered that it would be wise in the Association to proceed at once to the Secretary of State with this Memorial, leaving such questions as the way of raising the funds, and the means of carrying out the object for a separate Memorial. With respect to the raising of the funds, it was important that advantage should be taken of the low rate at which money could now be raised by the Government.

Mr. TAIT, in supporting the motion to adjourn the discussion, remarked, that looking to the very great importance of the subject, the success of the movement might possibly be somewhat imperilled by the Memorial being put forward by a weak deputation. With reference to the raising of the money for a good scheme of irrigation, he thought there was no fear of plenty of money being forthcoming for some time to come, at 3½ or 4 per cent., backed by the guarantee of the Government.

CHAIRMAN.—I must say, as on most occasions, there is much to be said on both sides, I am inclined to think it is a great pity to lose any time in presenting the Memorial, there being at this moment almost a certain prospect of a famine in Central India at all events, and the probability of one to a very great extent also in the north-west; but at the same time, I know there are so many men of experience and weight connected with this Association not here to-night who feel strongly upon this subject, that I think it would be a great pity if the opportunity were not afforded them of taking part in the discussion. At the present moment everybody is so absorbed in this political crisis that they cannot pay any attention to anything else. I am afraid, therefore, I must, upon the whole, prefer the discussion being postponed till the end of November. With regard to what has been said about the raising of the money, I think there need be no apprehension on that score. A Government guarantee and very moderate interest would raise almost any sum for some time to come. Another remark which I wish to make is this: That it would have been very desirable, if possible, that the deputation should have gone to the Secretary of State before the departure of the new Governor-General, so that the Secretary of State might have spoken to him on the subject. With respect to the state of the works, it is absolutely true that nothing is doing; that is to say, with all these great schemes on paper, not a single project has been put in hand, nor is there the slightest probability whatever of its being done. The thing we have to guard against is this, the imagination that all these preparations mean doing anything. They report, survey, level, estimate, and sanction everything, but do not put one brick upon another or dig a spadeful of earth. Not only have they not put in hand any extensive work of irrigation for the last seven

years and more, but they have not completed and are not completing those works that were begun twenty and twenty-four years ago. Not only are they doing nothing towards finishing them, but they are allowing them to get out of repair. I have from three different sources the best possible information that the works on the Godavery which have been executed so far are in a disgraceful state of disrepair. Supposing 30,000*l.* was required to keep them in repair, they have allowed 15,000*l.* and so on. I wish we could have had some communication with Lord Mayo upon the subject. I look at the change in the Council as a very important point at this time. Though the change is not so great as I could have wished, I have no doubt that it will remove many obstacles to the actual execution of the works; and the appointment of the new Governor-General will no doubt open the way for action. Upon the whole, however, I think it would be better to adjourn the discussion of the Memorial, and in the meantime we might try and get all those whom we know to be interested in the subject to make a point of attending at the adjourned Meeting. With respect to the way in which the Memorial is drafted, I think we should not go into detail as to how the work should be carried on, and how the money should be raised, but confine ourselves to urging that the works should be executed.

The motion to adjourn the discussion was put and carried, Mr. Briggs being the only dissentient.

On the suggestion of Mr. Tayler, the Council was deputed to wait upon the Earl of Mayo and call his attention to the subject..

DISCUSSION ON MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI'S PAPER.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—I may say that my object in writing this paper was, that as Mr. Tayler and myself are going to India shortly, we might be able, if the Association approved of the remarks made in the paper, to express our views with greater authority upon the subject than if we expressed our own individual views. If the Meeting approve of the paper, which can be taken as read, it will strengthen our hands very much indeed; and any remarks that may be made upon it will be of great service to us in laying before our friends in India the necessity of supporting this Association.

MR. BRIGGS, referring to the third paragraph of the pamphlet, remarked that the education of the people of India in their political duties and rights was no easy matter, seeing that we had not been able to educate our own statesmen to take an interest in Indian matters. As to the education of the masses, he thought that the first thing we ought to do was to provide them with food.

MR. TAYLER thought that the thanks of the Association were due to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the valuable suggestions and practical ideas contained in his paper; but at the same time, in the present state of education and feeling in India, he doubted whether the Association would derive any practical benefit whatever from any local associations. He suggested that the two Associations at Calcutta, the British India Association and the Commercial Landowners' Association (between which Societies there unhappily existed a spirit of antagonism, improperly fostered on occasions by the Government itself, owing to which antagonism the action of each was weakened), might be induced to affiliate themselves with this Association if it were shown to them that their objects could be accomplished by this Association; but, looking at the apathy and indifference and want of energy among those in India to whom the Society might look for assistance, he thought it was useless to expect local associations to act energetically in furtherance of the objects of the Association.

MR. TAYLER thought that the Association was greatly indebted to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the trouble he had taken in drawing up the pamphlet. Assuming the Association could get the proper class of men in the three presidency towns to form the local councils from among the Native and European community, he thought a great deal of good might follow. Such local councils, composed of the best possible representative men in each presidency town, might be of immense benefit to the Association, by inducing persons to become subscribers, and in collecting and transmitting information to the Association. He was in a position to be able to give very large help to such a movement, and he might be able to induce some of the most eminent men at the three presidency towns to join such local councils.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI said it appeared to him that the existing local asso-

ciations, not being connected with an association in London, were not doing all the work which it was possible for them to do. If such local associations connected themselves with this Association, it would be for the mutual benefit of the local associations and the parent one. The local association would assist the parent association by giving it information and supplying it with funds, while the parent institution, composed as it was of Members of Parliament and men of influence and rank, could assist the local associations, by making representations of their views and wishes in the proper quarter in London. On such questions, for instance, as Education or Finance, all that the local association could do would be to send up a memorial, there being no one present to answer any objections that might be taken to it or any remarks made upon it.

Mr. TAIT proposed, and Mr. Briggs seconded, the following Resolution, which was put and carried unanimously:—

“That Mr. Tayler, on the occasion of his visit to Calcutta, be empowered to open communications with the British India Association and the Commercial Landowners’ Association, with a view to their affiliation to this Association; and also, that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, on the occasion of his visit to Bombay, be empowered to open communications with the Bombay Association for a similar purpose, the result to be reported in each case to the Council.”

On the motion of Mr. Tayler, seconded by Mr. Tait, a vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—I beg to thank you for the honour you have done me. I look upon this discussion as of very great importance. I am quite sure if arrangements are made for extending the operations of the Association in the way proposed it will have an immense influence for good on the welfare of India. It is extremely important to get local associations to connect themselves with us, sending us information and representing the interests and feelings of particular classes in particular localities. Whatever can be done to extend and consolidate the Association I think must have a most extensive and beneficial effect upon the welfare of India altogether.

POSTAGE RATES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA.

A deputation from the East India Association waited on the Secretary of State for India on Tuesday, June 16th, on the subject of the increased rates of postage between India and England. Among others the following gentlemen were present:—Sir H. Rawlinson, K.C.B., M.P., The Baron Dowieans, Mr. E. B. Eastwick, C.B., Mr. P. P. Gordon, Colonel G. T. Haly, Mr. J. G. Coleman, Mr. W. S. Oakes, Mr. Pragjé Bhimjee, Mr. Charles Jay, Captain Harby Barber, &c. Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Eastwick, C.B., Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Mr. Coleman having addressed Sir Stafford Northcote on the hardships consequent upon the increased rates, Sir Stafford Northcote replied that he would carefully consider the various points raised, and promised that he would at an early date invite a conference with the Treasury and Post Office authorities on the subject.

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

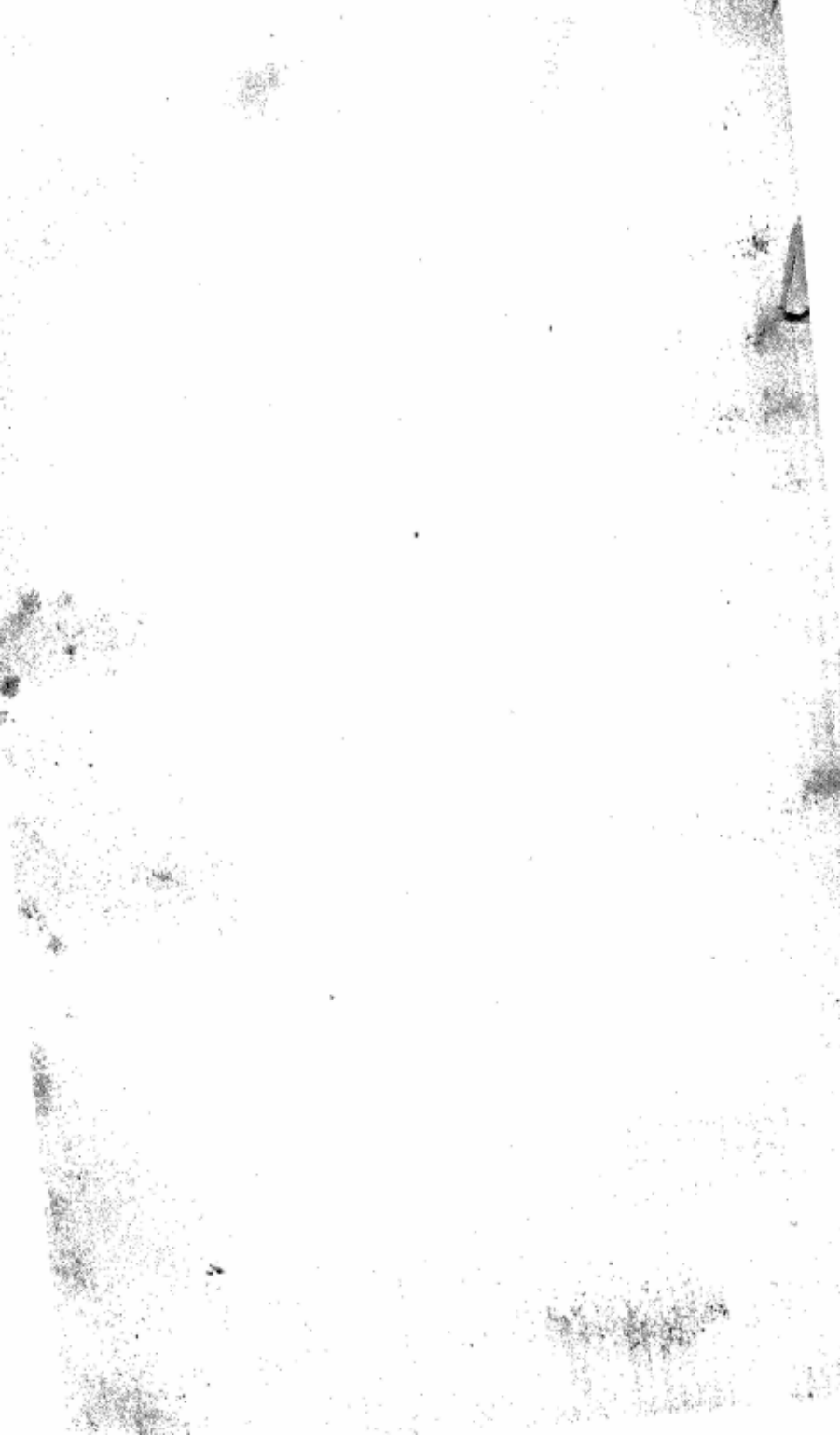
55, PARLIAMENT STREET, S.W.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

LIFE SUBSCRIPTION	..	..	..	..	£10	0	0
ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, INCLUDING JOURNAL	..				£1	5	0
DITTO FOR MEMBERS IN INDIA	..			..	Rs.13	8	0

SUBSCRIPTIONS and DONATIONS can be paid to the LONDON AND WESTMINSTER BANK, St. James's Square, London; MESSRS. GRINDLAY & Co., 55, Parliament Street, S.W.; MESSRS. SMITH, ELDER, & Co., 45, Pall Mall, S.W.; also to MESSRS. GRINDLAY, GROOM, & Co.; and Mr. ARDESEER FRAMJEE MOOS, Bombay; MESSRS. GRINDLAY & Co., and CAWASJEE PESTONJEE, Esq., 19, Ezra Street, Calcutta, The Uncovenanted Service Bank, Agra; MESSRS. ARBUTHNOT & Co., and MESSRS. McDOWELL & Co., Madras; and to PURSHOTUM BHIMJEE, Rajcote in Katteewar. Crossed Cheques can be sent to the SECRETARY, by whom formal receipts will be returned. Post Office Orders to be payable at the Parliament Street Post Office.

Gentlemen wishing to become Members of the Association are requested to communicate with the SECRETARY, at the Offices of the Association, 55, Parliament Street, S.W., where a Reading Room is now open for the use of Members.

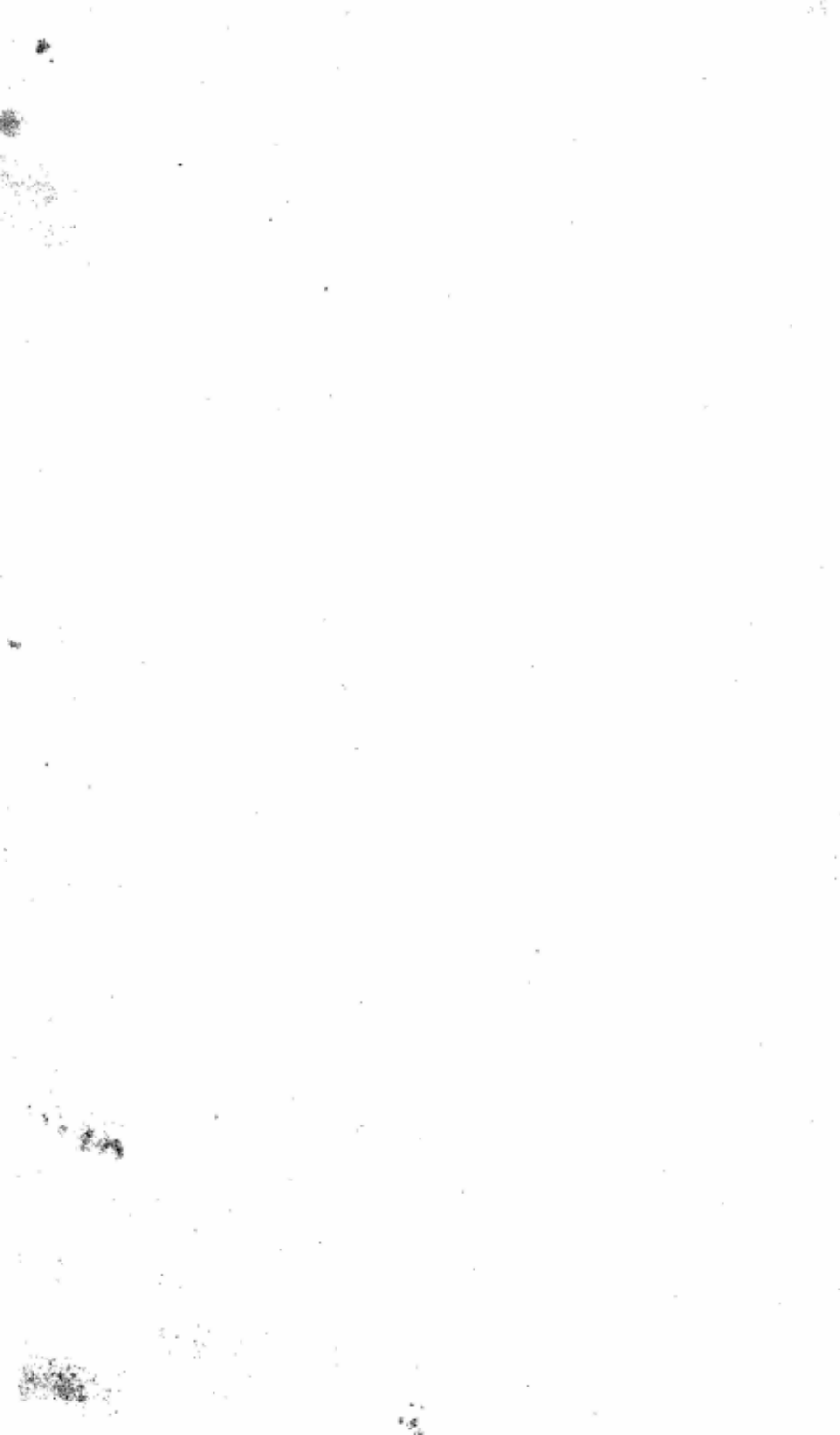


ON
THE DUTIES
OF
LOCAL INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS
IN CONNECTION WITH
THE LONDON ASSOCIATION.

BY
DADABHAI NAOROJI.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY W. CLOWES & SONS, 14, CHARING CROSS.

1868.



ASSOCIATIONS.

GENTLEMEN,

I think it is necessary to have a clear understanding about the duties and work of the Associations in India and in this country, for I am afraid that a good deal of energy and labour may be frittered away either by the pursuit of wrong objects, or by pursuing objects in a wrong way.

The local Indian Associations, such as the British Indian Association, the Bombay Association, and our local branch at Madras, have very important duties to perform—duties which we here cannot under any circumstances undertake.

We have to remember that in order to satisfy Government of the desirability or necessity of any measure, two things are absolutely necessary: first, a good case on its merits; and secondly, a proof that a respectable and proper portion of the community feel the necessity of the measure. Now we are all aware that a large proportion of the natives of India are not as yet sufficiently well prepared to understand and discuss political measures, or the rights of a people under the British constitution. This state of affairs creates the first duty of the local Indian Associations, *viz.* that of educating the people in their political

duties and rights. It is not enough for the committees of these Associations to discuss certain measures among themselves at different times, or place them before meetings of the Associations only, but they should also, from time to time, arrange to call large meetings of the people, and explain to them in the vernaculars the various measures the Associations may wish to advocate or oppose. The educated natives, under some organization by the Associations, may deliver at different places series of lectures in the vernacular, explaining the great principles of British politics, the necessity of taxes, the rights of the taxpayers as British subjects to be represented, the rights of the people to a share in the administration of the country, the necessity of great public works, and various other questions of greater or lesser importance.

Thus the Associations have the important duty of educating their countrymen in their political duties and rights. This if further considered is not only a duty, but an important necessity for the Associations themselves; for if they have prepared a good proportion of the people to understand and take an interest in the measures they propose, they can approach the authorities, thus backed by the people, with far greater weight and effect than merely as the committee of an Association. It is true that petitions may be numerously signed, but those hostile to the natives often urge that "the signers don't know what they are about." If then our local Associations are to do any permanent good; if they mean to speak to Government with vigour and effect, though I do not for a moment wish them to approach their rulers through

“the Hyde Park railings,” they must at least be in a position to say, that what they represent is not merely their own opinion, but the voice of the people. If the Associations can once achieve this object, half their victory is won. They will find Government more willing and ready to listen to their representations than at present. Reason must be our claim and the voice of the people our strength; or our labours cannot bear full fruit.

Next to educating the people, the duties of the local Associations is to watch and discuss every measure that is brought before the local Legislative Councils and the Governor-General's Legislative Council. If on every such measure these Associations, after careful consideration, express their views for or against, the Legislative Council itself would feel thankful to be thus informed what a body of intelligent and educated natives think of every measure, and it may be thus largely influenced in its own discussions and decisions. These measures should not only be the subject of discussions and opinions among the committees of the Associations, but also of lectures to the body of the people, in all the towns of the Presidency. By this means the voice of the people can be brought either to oppose a bad measure or approve and support a good one. The people themselves would be made familiar with the laws under which they are to live, and would receive the most practical political education possible. If the Indian Associations will thus render themselves useful to the rulers on the one hand, and to the people on the other, they would gradually, and deservedly become a power

in the State. Many intelligent young men will find a school for their political education, and the people will be prepared in time for that great end, a Parliament or Parliaments in India.

The third duty of these local Associations is, with regard to their relation with the Associations and authorities in this country. I shall speak more fully upon this subject when discussing the working of our Association here.

In performing the first duty of educating the people in their political rights and duties, and in understanding the character of the legislation passing over them, the Indian Associations will do to themselves two very important benefits: they will create a large class to appreciate their labours, and gain their support on a much wider basis—upon the interest and gratitude of the mass of the people themselves, instead of upon a few well-to-do people. The next great benefit to them is the preservation of the vitality of their own body. Like the physical body of an individual, no body or association can preserve a healthy existence and vitality without having regular and useful work to do. The occupation which of necessity would be given to the Associations by undertaking the work I have sketched above, will save them from collapses, to their own humiliation, and to the great injury of the public.

We often blame the rich and old natives on the one hand, and the poor mass on the other, for their apathy to their country's welfare. I do not want to justify any such apathy; but in common justice we must make necessary allowances. How is it

possible to expect a man to appreciate anything he knows nothing about? I think, if justice is fairly done, the blame, instead of attaching to the ignorant, rests more upon the educated. It is the duty of the educated to give to the people generally the benefit of their own education. Being themselves educated, it is their turn now to educate their countrymen, to explain to them their duties and rights, and they will find that apathy would give place to active patriotism. In the case of the present generation of educated young men, almost all of us have not only the duties of patriotism but of gratitude to discharge; we must come forward to do all in our power for our countrymen, not only because such is the call of patriotism, but also because we have obtained our education by means of taxes paid by the mass of the people—and that we thus owe our whole future career to our countrymen. Let us return what we have received, if not more. But in doing this we shall have the double satisfaction of not only serving our country but also of paying a debt of gratitude. I venture to ask, especially with regard to the Bombay Presidency, whether, when proper steps are taken to explain the benefits of any measure, the uneducated, whether rich or poor, have not freely supported the cause? Take the case of female schools. How strong was the opposition at first, and how the quiet and persevering efforts of some of the educated, and some of the benevolent natives both persuaded the people of the necessity and importance of the institution, as well as established it.

We know some of the societies, such as the Dnyan-

Prasarac, by the lectures on different branches of science, by their exposures of magic and impostures, by papers and discussions on social subjects, attracted numbers, and actually produced a revolution in the ideas of those who attended their meetings. I have not the least doubt, from my humble experience of some twenty years, that if we, the educated, did our duty, we should have no reason to complain of want of sympathy or appreciation from the people—the future destiny of our country is in the hands of the educated. Let them be true to their colours and they will have no disappointment, either from the British rulers on the one hand, or the people on the other. If unfortunately the result be otherwise, the fault will not be theirs; they will have done their duty. But it must be their determination to persevere to success, be the difficulties in the way what they may. For instance, in the question of transferring competitive examinations for the Indian services to India, or of prosecuting irrigation and other public works with vigour, no matter how often we may be disappointed, we must persevere! and continue to knock at the door till we gain admission.

You may perhaps wonder why I have digressed from the Association to the educated natives, but when you consider that the successful performance of the duties I have pointed out of these Associations, depends mainly upon the hearty exertions of the “educated natives,” you will not, I hope, consider my remarks irrelevant.

I come now to the subject of what the natives may fairly expect from this Association. In discuss-

ing its duties, it must be borne in mind that this Association has some peculiar obstacles in its way. The English public have their own politics and society to look after. It cannot, unfortunately, be expected that they would, or could, ever feel that deep interest in a distant country which is necessary for good government. A pin's head in the foreground of a picture occupies more ground than the highest hills in the far background. It struck me much one evening while attending the House of Commons, that the statue of Sir Robert Peel at the gate of Parliament House created far greater interest and more lively discussion, than the budget of the weal and woe of the two hundred millions of India. But complaining is useless. The little statue before the eyes is quite large enough to shut out from the view poor India in the far east; a row between two ragged boys, or the fall of a horse, or injury to a person at your door will call up more lively and earnest interest than the fight and destruction of thousands on the distant battle-field.

It will be seen, therefore, that it is uphill work for this Association to make Indian subjects popular among the English public; but the members can, if they like, assist to a very great extent to bring India nearer to the mind of England than it at present is; although they may perhaps never succeed in making the English public generally feel a familiar interest in Indian matters, they can at least make that thinking portion of the English population, who in reality ultimately guide the rulers as well as the public in this country, acquainted with the wants

and facts of India. The members of this Association can do important service to India, by laying before the Society, and before the public through its journals the results of their experience in India, or their views upon Indian matters formed by reading and reflection. I sincerely hope therefore that the English members of this Association will from time to time read papers on the various Indian subjects, with which they are familiar, whereby the social, political, physical, intellectual, and moral welfare of India may be advanced.

In addition to the efforts necessary for the members of this Association to diffuse Indian information among the English public, it is by this Association alone that one other necessary service can be done. All the great questions of Indian politics, administration, and finance will be discussed and decided chiefly in this country, especially in all those matters in which the action of Parliament or of the India Office, or of both is necessary. Such questions can never be properly agitated by the local Indian Associations with effect. All their efforts have a provincialism about them, which renders their voice on questions of general importance and policy powerless; and being at a distance from the scene of action, the utmost they can do is to send a memorial to Parliament or to the Secretary of State; but they are not in a position to follow up their memorial with ready-on-the-spot and effective replies to questions as they arise during the consideration and discussion of the subject. This function can be properly performed by this Association only. And it is the more necessary

that all practical action taken by this Association, should be confined to questions of important general principles and policy. We must always take good care not to attempt too much at once. Many members may naturally feel impatient at what each of them considers of importance not being taken up by the council of the Association, but it is quite evident that it would be simply impossible to do such a thing. But if members will write papers on subjects they consider important, the discussion of such papers will first show whether any particular question is of sufficient importance to take practical action on, whether its urgency is so great as to require immediate action, or whether it may be allowed to have its turn in time so as not to try too much at once and do the whole work inefficiently.

While I thus clearly acknowledge the work that this Association has to do, especially of fighting the battles of general principles and policy of Government, the local Associations of India have again to consider whether it is possible for this Association to do its work completely without regular and continuous aid from them. I am not speaking of pecuniary aid at present. The changes in India are at present so rapid, that the latest arrivals in this country soon feel themselves antiquated in their notions on various matters in continual progress and change in India. It is therefore absolutely necessary that the local Associations, and other intelligent and educated members of this Association resident in India, or other natives or Englishmen, keep this Association fully informed with their views from time to time upon all subjects

of general importance. This can be done by sending to this Association well-considered papers on such subjects. The Association here, in discussing them, is, first, able to give general publicity to the views of the papers through its Journal; and secondly, if it felt that a good and reasonable case was made out, may undertake to take such practical steps as it may consider necessary and desirable.

In supplying such papers, it will be borne in mind that our Indian friends should not expect this Association to take practical steps on every subject. Many papers must be considered as for the purpose of diffusing as much correct information about India as possible, and thereby to prepare and assist the English public in forming a correct opinion upon those subjects of imperial importance which may be from time to time urged for its consideration and decision.

It will thus be evident that much of the success of this Association must depend upon the aid from the natives of India of information upon all important subjects. In the supply of this information also some discretion must be used. It cannot be expected that the English should evince any desire for an acquaintance with the thousand-and-one incidents and events of every-day Indian life. The information, therefore, to be furnished to this Association requires to be a little selected. Accurate information on every phase of Indian society is required as the groundwork for forming opinions. The question of general policy, accounts of existing public institutions, and suggestions with their reasons for improvements

therein; instances of maladministrations, questions of public works, new institutions required by the progress already made, and the present policy and modes of revenue, police, judicial, municipal, educational, and other administrations, and the reforms required therein; instances of proved injustice to public officers, and thereby illustrating some defect of principle, system, or abuse of authority; relations with native States, moral and social condition of the natives, and such like, are subjects upon which the residents in India have to furnish information to this Association from time to time.

The natives of India and their Associations cannot expect the residents in this country to hunt out for themselves the information which the natives wish them to have. The natives must help themselves in this matter, themselves make out their cases, and then they can very well ask and expect from the English people attention and assistance.

If the English public can have the digested information, derived from different sources, on each subject laid before them, they will be able to compare and know the truth; and till they feel satisfied that they know the whole truth it is difficult to expect them either to take much interest in our welfare or act in our behalf. The duty of furnishing accurate information in an intelligible and attractive form rests upon all those resident and interested in India, whether natives or Europeans, but principally natives. If they want to be helped by the English public, they must help the English public with the necessary means.

Equally important, if not more, is the question of

the supplies of war. It is simply ridiculous for the natives of India to expect any work done here unless they find the necessary funds. The ordinary expenses of an Association of this character, and of publishing its Journal punctually, ought chiefly to be supplied by the natives. The natives have much to be thankful for that we can get some hundreds (though, I am sorry to say, not thousands) of Englishmen willing to help us in pleading our cause before the English nation, and in getting our just rights, if we but give them the necessary help of information and funds.

It will be seen, therefore, that the third duty of the local Indian Associations is to supply to the Association here all necessary information, in the shape of papers or otherwise, and funds. A paper published by them on any subject of public importance comes only before their own audience, has a provincial character about it, and seldom gets so large a circle of readers as its importance deserves; while, on the contrary, the same paper, if further read and discussed before a meeting of this Association, and published in its Journal, has the advantage of being laid before the English and Indian public generally, and obtaining a far wider discussion in all its bearings. If truth and justice are on its side, such a paper, backed by the discussions in the press and influence of this country, acts on the officials generally in India with much greater pressure than it could do, under any circumstances, if published and discussed by a local Association only. Such papers may be at first discussed by the local Associations at their own committees or meetings, and then forwarded here for

further discussion and publication, or, if necessary, for practical action.

Of course, any paper or communication to this Association will be brought forward in the name of the authors, so that they lose none of the credit for their work, and at the same time gain their object with far more complete effect.

A co-operation of the kind sketched above is, I think, absolutely necessary for the successful working of this and all local Associations. I wish much that this subject of rendering the efforts of the local Associations and of intelligent individuals resident in India, as well as of this Association, productive of the greatest amount of good possible should be fully discussed by us and by our friends in India. It would be a pity that, from want of a well-understood co-operation, great exertions should simply be frittered away and unproductive of sufficient benefit.

I lay before you my views, with the hope that you will freely discuss them; and that with any further suggestions which may be made, we may appeal to our friends in India, both natives and Europeans, individuals and Associations, demonstrating what sort of concerted action should be adopted to gain the object we all of us have in view, most effectually, *viz.* the good government and prosperity of India.

Of one thing I am certain, that whenever we can make out a really good case, and can also prove that a reasonable portion of the Indian subjects understand, appreciate, and ask for a measure, the British Government will grant it. We may sometimes find it difficult to make the Government see at once the justice

of our cause, or, seeing the justice, to believe that a reasonable portion of the community are prepared for the measure; but in all such cases it would be simply a question of time. We have only to persevere, and I am satisfied that the English are both willing and desirous to do India justice.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

East India Association,

55, PARLIAMENT STREET, S.W.

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AND

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JAMES MATHEWS, Esq., 55, Parliament St.
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SURGEON-MAJ. T. HASTINGS, Bengal Army.
F. F. COURTENAY, Esq., 15, Savile Row.
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Inspector of Schools, Calcutta.
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sistant Professor, Presidency College,
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†BABOO KALICHARANA GHOSHAL, Deputy-
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Professor, Sanscrit College, Calcutta.
PANDIT DWARAKANATHA VIDYABHUSHANA,
Professor, Sanscrit College, Calcutta.
BABOO RAJKRISHNA BANERJEE, Assistant
Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta.
PANDIT DWARAKANATHA BHUTTACHARYA,
M.A., Assistant Professor, Sanscrit Col-
lege, Calcutta.
BABOO SYAMACHARANA GANGULI, B.A.,
Assistant Professor, Sanscrit College,
Calcutta.
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dar, Krishnaghur.
BABOO PURNAPRASADA ROY, Zemendar,
Krishnaghur.
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naghur.
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Bombay.
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Gentlemen wishing to become Members of the Association are requested to communicate with the SECRETARY, at the Offices of the Association, 55, Parliament Street, S.W., where a Reading Room is now open for the use of Members.

REPORT for Year 1867-68.

THE Managing Committee have the honour to submit, for the information of the Members of the "East India Association," the following Report:—

1. Since the Meeting of June 25, 1867, 27 Life Members, and 295 Annual Subscribers have been elected, making a total during the past year of 322.

Eight Members have resigned since the formation of the Association.

The number on the books at present is as follows:—

Life Members	..	..	..	..	64
Annual Subscribers	..	..	..	..	530
Total					<u>594</u>

2. The Committee have great pleasure in reporting the receipt of the following Donations:—

	£	s.	d.
His Highness The Thakore of Bhownuggur	..	90	0 0
The Earl of Kellie, C.B.	..	25	0 0
His Highness The Thakore of Rajcote	..	40	0 0
His Highness The Rao of Kutch	..	100	0 0
Donations in sums under £10	..	16	19 0
Total	..	<u>£271</u>	<u>19 0</u>

3. Annexed is a Statement of Accounts, prepared by a professional accountant and duly audited, commencing from the formation of the Association on 1st October, 1866, and ending June 30, 1868, showing a balance in hand of £232. 11s. 6d., with arrears of Subscriptions of £49 for 1867; it is hoped a considerable portion of the latter sum will be eventually paid.

4. Three numbers of the 'Journal of the East India Association' have been published, at a cost of £271; a fourth number

is in the press, the cost of which is not yet known, but it will not be less than £150, while there is still ample material in hand for a fifth number; but it is evident from the state of the Accounts, that unless the Annual Subscription of Members is increased, or the price of the Journal augmented, the publication of this valuable record—upon which the permanent stability of the Association so much depends—must cease.

In the opinion of the Managing Committee the Journal should in future be published, if possible, quarterly, and it is hoped that the funds necessary for this purpose will be provided by the Members of the Association.

5. In addition to the ordinary Meetings of the Association, the Managing Committee, at the special request of the Princes of Kattywar, undertook the arrangements for the presentation of their address to SIR BARTLE FRERE, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., at Willis's Rooms, on December 5, 1867.

6. The Association is deeply indebted to the gentlemen who have submitted papers for discussion, and the best thanks of the Committee are tendered for the same.

7. The following is a résumé of the proceedings of the Association during the past year:

1867.

July 25th.—Paper read by W. C. BONNERJEE, Esq., entitled
 “REPRESENTATIVE AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.”

August 6th.—Paper read by Colonel G. T. HALY, entitled
 “THE FISHERIES OF INDIA.”

August 13th.—Adopted a Memorial to the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA for the admission of Natives into the Civil Service of India, and for instituting Scholarships to enable Native youths of promise and ability to complete their education in England.

August 21st.—Deputation waited on SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA for presenting the above Memorial.

Nov. 26th.—Paper read by W. C. BONNERJEE, Esq., entitled
 “THE REFORM OF THE HINDU MARRIAGE LAWS.”

Nov. 29th.—Paper read by DADABHAI NAOROJI, Esq., on
“THE EXPENSES OF THE ABYSSINIAN WAR.”

Dec. 5th.—Presentation of an Address to Sir BARTLE FREERE from the
Princes of Kattywar.

Dec. 6th.—Paper read by Sir A. COTTON, K.C.S.I., entitled
“OPENING OF THE GODAVERY RIVER.”

Dec. 17th.—Paper read by P. M. MEHTA, Esq., on
“THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE PRESIDENCY OF
BOMBAY.”

1868.

Jan. 10th.—Paper read by Colonel HALY on
“THE CAPABILITIES OF THE MOUNTAIN RANGES OF INDIA
AND COFFEE AND TEA PLANTING ON THEM.”

Jan. 25th.—Paper read by the SECRETARY for Capt. R. A. CHADWICK, entitled
“THE FURLOUGH REGULATIONS OF THE INDIAN ARMY.”

Jan. 31st.—Paper read by E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., entitled
“REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIA-
MENT.”

Feb. 4th.—Paper read by Major EVANS BELL, on
“THE CLAIMS OF NATIVES OF INDIA TO A SHARE IN THE
EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE PROPOSED NEW GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.”

Feb. 11th.—Paper read by P. M. TAIT, Esq., on
“THE POPULATION AND MORTALITY OF CALCUTTA.”

Feb. 21st.—Paper read by T. BRIGGS, Esq., on
“A POLICY FOR INDIA UNDER THE REFORMED PARLIAMENT.”

March 3rd.—Paper read by R. KNIGHT, Esq., on
“THE FINANCIAL RELATIONS OF INDIA AND ENGLAND.”

April 1st.—Adjourned Discussion on Mr. Knight's Paper of March 3rd.

April 17th.—Paper read by DADABHAI NAOROJI, Esq., on
“ADMISSION OF EDUCATED NATIVES INTO THE INDIAN
CIVIL SERVICE.”

April 22nd.—Deputation waited on SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA on the
subject of Indian Finance.

May 6th.—Adjourned Discussion on Sir A. COTTON's Paper of Dec. 6.

June 9th.—Miss CARPENTER addressed the Association on
 "EDUCATION AND REFORMATORY TREATMENT."

June 16th.—Deputation waited on SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, on the subject of Increased Postal Rates between India and England.

June 24th.—Note read by Lord W. M. HAY on Mr. DADABHAI's paper on
 MYSORE, July 5th, 1867.

8. During the past year the Rules of the Association have had the serious consideration of the Managing Committee, and a special Sub-Committee having been appointed, the Managing Committee beg to submit for the approval of the Annual Meeting the following

NEW RULES.

I.—OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Article 1. The EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION is instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

II.—MEMBERS.

Article 2. The Association shall consist of Resident and Non-Resident Ordinary and Honorary Members.

Article 3. Honorary Members shall have the same rights and privileges as Ordinary Members.

Article 4. Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council at any Ordinary Meeting, and shall consist of persons who have distinguished themselves in promoting the good of India.

Article 5. Ordinary Members shall be nominated in writing by two Members of the Association, and elected after ten days' notice of such nomination, at the next General Meeting of the Council, if approved by a majority of two-thirds present thereat.

Article 6. The Election of every Member, both Ordinary and Honorary, shall be recorded, on the Minutes of the Council; and the Secretary shall forthwith notify, by letter, his election to the Member, and request such Member to furnish a Standing Order on his Banker for his Annual Subscription.

Article 7. Ordinary Members shall pay an Annual Subscription of £1, or 10 Rs., on the 1st January in every year; or may compound for the same by payment of 100 Rs., or £10, which shall constitute a Life Member.

III.—MODE OF MANAGEMENT.

Article 8. The Management of the Association shall be vested in a Council, to be elected at the Annual Meeting of the Association, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Twenty-four Ordinary Members; Five to form a Quorum.

Article 9. A President of the Association shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting; and the Council may, from time to time, nominate distinguished Indian Statesmen, or others, as Vice-Presidents, subject to the confirmation of the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 10. The Council shall appoint a Secretary, and such other Employés as may be necessary, and fix their Salaries and Emoluments.

Article 11. The Council may fill up Vacancies in their own body, until the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 12. The Council shall meet on the First Wednesday in the month; but the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or any three Members of the Council may at any time convene a Meeting by giving three days' notice.

Article 13. The Council may appoint Special Sub-Committees of not less than Five Members of the Association, three of whom shall form a Quorum.

Article 14. At the desire of Five Members of the Council, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special Meeting of the Association.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICERS.

Article 15. The President, or in his absence any Vice-President, or in the absence thereof, any Member shall preside at the Annual or ordinary Meetings of the Association.

Article 16. The Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Council, or in their absence any Member thereof nominated by those present, shall preside at the Meetings of the Council.

ANNUAL MEETING.

Article 17. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the month of May in every year.

Article 18. General Ordinary Meetings of the Association for promoting the interests thereof, and for the discussion of subjects connected with India, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

Article 19. A statement of the Accounts of the Association shall be prepared, audited by one of the Members of the Council and one Member taken from the general body of the Members of the Society, and circulated with the Report of the Council to each Resident Member ten days before the Annual Meeting.

LOCAL COMMITTEES.

Article 20. Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the Council; and the co-operation of independent Local Associations in India is invited by the "East India Association."

BYE-LAWS.

Article 21. The Council shall have power to make and alter any Bye-laws for the Management of the Association.

ALTERATION OF RULES.

Article 22. No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Association, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Article 23. The Council may, in their discretion, publish quarterly or otherwise, a Journal containing a report of the several General and other Meetings of the Association. Papers submitted for discussion shall be published *in extenso*, or not, as the Council may decide.

9. In anticipation that these Rules will be adopted, the Committee recommend that the following Noblemen and Gentlemen be elected Members of the Council for 1868-9 :—

Chairman.

THE EARL OF KELLIE, C.B.

Vice-Chairman.

MAJOR-GENERAL C. F. NORTH (late R.E.).

Council.

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G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

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MAJOR-GEN. W. E. S. SCOTT.

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P. M. TAIT, Esq.

J. G. COLEMAN, Esq.

DADABHAI NAOROJI, Esq.

DR. K. M. DUTT.

D. D. CAMA, Esq.

10. The experience of the past leads to the hope that the East India Association has now become an institution adapted to supply a want long felt; but the active co-operation of the members in extending their numbers, and thereby providing the requisite funds, is absolutely necessary; and should this result be attained, the Managing Committee are confident that the foundation which has been laid will not only be maintained, but the Council to be appointed will find fresh occasions of usefulness, and the Association will cement more closely the various interests which bind this country to India.

CHARLES FREDK. NORTH,

MAJOR-GENERAL,

Chairman of the Managing Committee.

N.B.—The Report and Rules are printed as amended, and passed at the Annual Meeting of the Association, held at 55, Parliament Street, on Saturday, July 18th, 1868.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD LYVEDEN,

President of the Association,

IN THE CHAIR.

General Abstract of the Accounts of the EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION to 31st December, 1867.

(18)

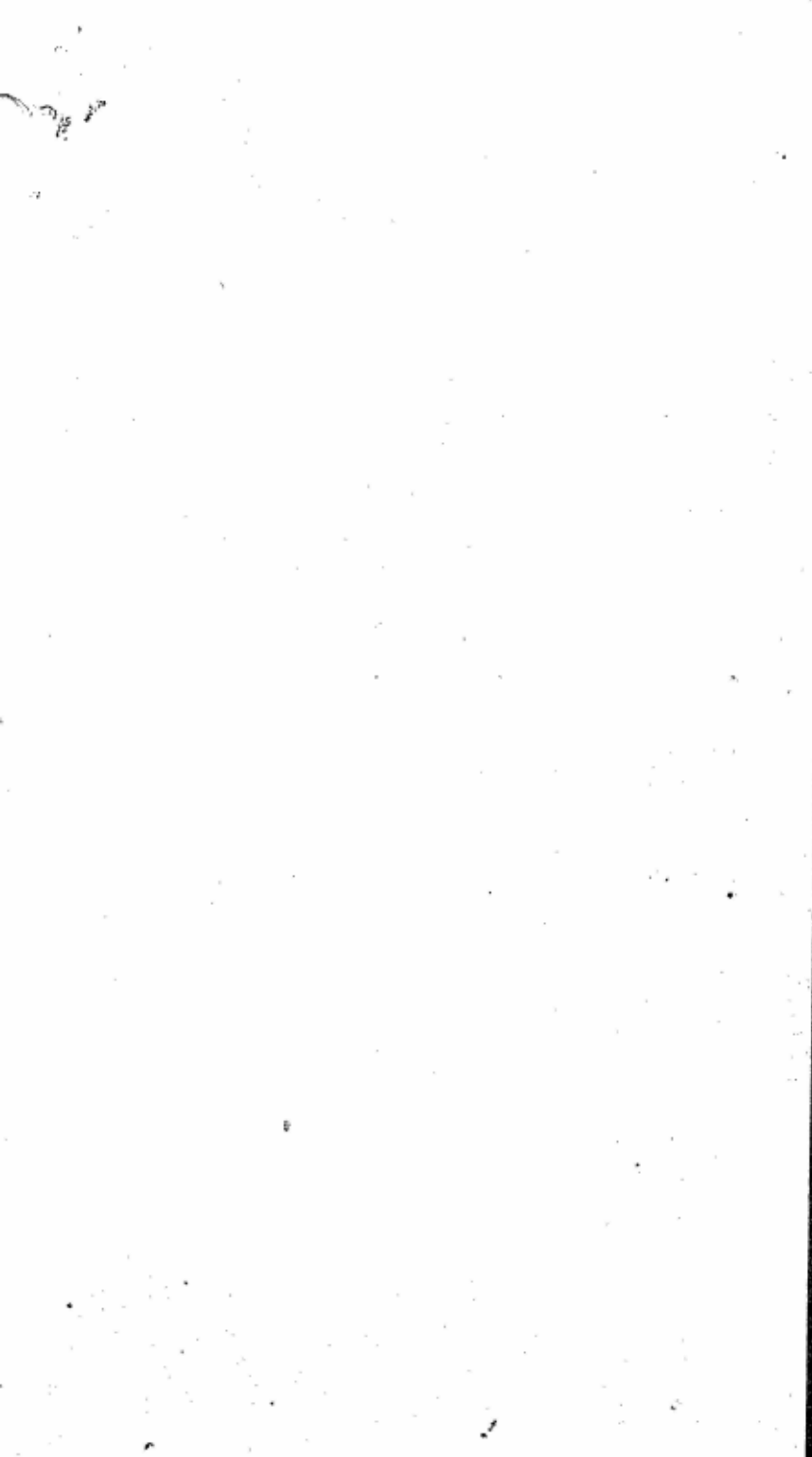
EXPENDITURE.		RECEIPTS.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Expenses incurred up to 31st December, 1866	34 13 10	Annual Subscriptions received..	270 0 0
Paid Secretary for Clerks, &c..	135 10 0	Life Members' ditto ..	520 0 0
Rent ..	138 12 2	Wynard Planters' Association ditto	12 10 0
Office Furniture..	84 18 9	Donations ..	171 18 0
Advertisements ..	65 0 0		
Reporting ..	48 7 11		
Newspapers ..	34 12 10		
Stationery, Blue Books, Parliamentary Proceedings, &c.	44 16 9		
Printing ..	51 10 0		
Freights, Postages, &c. ..	89 8 8		
Six hundred Copies of Journal ..	45 0 0		
Part of Amount advanced for Expenses of Address to } Sir Bartle Frere to be repaid ..	35 10 0		
Loss by Exchange ..	8 17 6		
Balance in hand..	157 9 7		
	<hr/> £974 8 0		<hr/> £974 8 0

5, COPTHALL COURT, LONDON,
July 13, 1868.

GEO. REID, Accountant.

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